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# ***JPRS Report***

## **Near East & South Asia**

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# Near East & South Asia

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## EGYPT

### Priorities Of People's Assembly Satirized

45040044b Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-DUWALI in Arabic  
9 Jan 88 p 6

[Article by Mahmud Kamil]

[Text] All of Egypt's problems have ended. We have repaid our debts without rescheduling them; every Egyptian has come to own two apartments, one on the Nile in winter and another on the sea in summer; and cooking oil has become abundant in the market. All our children have entered schools and all our deserts have been planted with vegetables and fruits. We have advanced from being an importing country to one seriously competing with Japan, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, the High Dam lake is filled with water to the brim as a result of the abundance of rains in Africa, and the easy flow of traffic in Cairo streets has become exemplary in the world. Egyptian women have controlled birth so that none will produce more than two children at most. In the field of medicine, according to a recent survey, there are three hospitals and four doctors for every Egyptian citizen. The "Iron Woman" [reference to a woman involved in fraud] and all those who have fled abroad have returned in order to pay their debts to the income tax, customs, and banks. We have won the narcotics war declared on us. Because the Egyptians resolve problems among themselves through good counsel, police stations throughout Egypt have been turned into museums, and because corruption of all forms in our land has ended, Egypt has become "the virtuous country"!

Even the Palestine problem has been solved, and the Palestinian banner has been raised on their land. And the Arabs have won the war against the Persians in the Gulf.

Because all this and more has been achieved, not a single member of the People's Assembly has found a more important subject to raise other than the serious television commercial advertisement entitled "Mahmud...what's this Mahmud!"

13305

## SUDAN

### Communist Party Reportedly Resumes Underground Activities

45040046c Khartoum AL-RAYAH in Arabic  
3 Jan 88 p 1

[Text] AL-RAYAH's information indicates that the cadres of the Communist Party have gone underground again and returned to secret work after an increased public opinion campaign against the party and the uncovering of its spying on the armed forces and role as a fifth column supporting the rebellion movement inside the country.

The attack put the Communist party under siege after its secretary in the city of al-Damazin, Engineer Salih al-Khayr, was accused of spying against the armed forces.

The newspaper AL-MAYDAN called on Communist Party members and their friends to exercise what it described as caution and watchfulness and continued to publish its fears about plans and search operations to be organized against the communists.

In a related development, inquiries have revealed that a prominent communist in al-Jurayf East was sent on a party mission to Ethiopia more than a month ago and has not yet returned.

12937

## AFGHANISTAN

### Cooperation With Soviet Union Reportedly Extended

46000077 Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English  
30 Dec 87 p 1

[Text] Soviet assistance, covering diverse spheres of socio-economic development of our country, is increasing day-to-day and its role in maintaining the progress of Afghan society is enhancing.

In the post-revolution years, fraternal assistance rendered by the Soviet Union to the Republic of Afghanistan has increased considerably. Over 40 main projects have been completed and commissioned and work is underway for the construction of 213 others with Soviet assistance.

Under the five-year plan for socio-economic growth of the country (1986-1991), over 130 main economic projects are to be completed in the country with the assistance of the USSR.

The techno-social and cultural assistance of the Soviet Union to our country is acquiring further dimensions following conclusion of protocols on economic cooperation between different organs of the two countries.

Among the protocols and contracts reached between the two countries are the protocol on gratis supply of equipment needed by the technical-vocational schools of the Ministry of Higher Education (total value seven million roubles), contract on the delivery of instruments for drilling deep wells (worth over 520 million Afghanis) and the contract on bicycle assembling and bakeries in the cities of Mazar-i-Sharif, Herat, Parwan and Nangarhar. Apart from this, 12 other industrial projects are to be set up in private sector with the 50-million rouble assistance from the Soviet Union. Also noteworthy are protocol on the supply of equipment needed by Microrayon residential projects of Kabul city (worth over 5.4 million roubles), the contract on supplying instruments and equipment for building residential houses in Kabul (valued at 17 million dollars), the protocol on techno-economic cooperation in the sphere of geology and petroleum exploration and the protocol on direct cooperation between Parwan province and Kharkov province of Ukraine SSR (valued at 130,000 roubles), according to which Kharkov, is to supply to Parwan equipment for power projects, communications, agriculture and education till the end of the current year. Other instances of Soviet cooperation with Afghanistan are the contract on assisting to Afghanistan medicine and medical instruments (worth over 10 million roubles) establishment of mechanized stations, drilling 10 deep wells in Kandahar province, delivery of equipment needed by project planning institutions of Ministry of Power, establishment of agriculture and irrigation projects of Nangarhar province, building and commissioning of the railway line between Torghundi port and the Soviet border.

Before the victory of the April Revolution, the Soviet Union was a disinterested friend and brother for our country as well. The total assistance of the Soviet Union in the projects realized was 56.3 per cent in the first 65.2 per cent in the second and 60 per cent in the third five-year plan before the revolution. The various projects of Afghan-Soviet cooperation account for 60 per cent of the total industrial produce of the country and 75 per cent of industrial produce in the state sector income from which constitutes 50 per cent of the revenue of State Budget from demotic resources.

/12223

## BANGLADESH

### Trade Turnover With Nepal

BK220257 Dhaka Domestic Service in English 0110  
GMT 22 Jan 88

[Summary] Bangladesh and Nepal have agreed to have an annual turnover of \$5 million each side in their two-way trade. This was disclosed at the end of a 4-day trade negotiations between the two countries in Kathmandu yesterday. Dhaka and Kathmandu have also agreed to include some new items in their bilateral trade. In addition to newsprint and jute goods, Bangladesh will also export to Nepal electric wires, telephone cables, diesel engine, bicycles, radio, TV sets, and refrigerators. Nepal will increase its foodgrain export to Bangladesh and provide 50,000 tons of cement annually. It will also export raw cotton and handicrafts to Bangladesh.

## INDIA

### Gandhi Plans Revealed for Disarmament

46001143 Madras THE HINDU in English  
27 Nov 87 p 1

[Article by K.K. Katyal]

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 26. The Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi will visit Stockholm around the middle of January next year to take part in the meeting of the six-nation group on disarmament. Sweden, one of the six, will host the meeting.

According to the earlier tentative plans, they were to get together towards the end of November or early December, but it was decided to reschedule the discussions in view of the summit meeting between the Soviet leader, Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev and the U.S. President, Mr. Ronald Reagan on December 7 to sign an agreement on the destruction of Soviet and American medium and shorter-range missiles.

This will not be a mere changes of dates, but more important, a change of context. The heads of the six nations—India, Sweden, Argentina, Greece, Tanzania and Mexico—will now address themselves to the objective of disarmament in the wake of a highly positive, and

as such welcome development. But while recognising the historic character of the proposed agreement—as the first case of reversal of the armament trend—the six nations will seek to build upon it the pursuit of their goal of ridding the planet of nuclear arsenal and bringing about significant reductions in strategic offensive systems. The elimination of the two categories of missiles will cover barely four per cent of the nuclear weaponry and as such will need to be followed up by fresh initiatives.

Had the two superpowers not agreed on the destruction of medium and shorter-range missiles, the task of the six-nation group would have been tougher in the changed context, it will not only find its stand vindicated but will also earn credibility among the people in various countries who tended to dismiss the group as an unrealistic, impractical lot.

In the past, the six offered to lend a helping hand in the modalities of ensuing compliance with whatever decisions might be taken by the two superpowers—like verification and monitoring of the ban on nuclear tests.

The six were not discouraged by the Reykjavik summit simply because it did not produce operative results but on the other hand found enough evidence of an intellectual breakthrough in Soviet-U.S. relations, which would be the starting point of fresh efforts. They proved right.

Different visits: For Mr. Gandhi, the journey to Stockholm will be second trip abroad in the next six to eight weeks, next month's visit to Burma being the first. The two trips, obviously, fall in different categories. The talks with the Burmese leaders will be significant in the regional and bilateral setting, particularly because contacts with the next-door neighbour had been scarce because of its self-imposed isolation. Among the main subjects of discussion in Rangoon will be the coordination of strategies to curb insurgency on the two sides of the border so as to ensure that insurgents of one country do not find sanctuaries in the other.

08309

**President Given List of Key Issues in Punjab**  
46001141 *Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English*  
26 Nov 87 p 4

[Text] New Delhi, Nov 25—A delegation of the Unified Akali Dal led by Capt. Amrinder Singh today presented a memorandum to the President, Mr R. Venkataraman, listing eight issues which required immediate redressal if the Punjab problem was to be solved.

In a meeting which lasted 20 minutes, the President reportedly assured the delegation that he would convey their stand on various issues to the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi.

The first demand was for an immediate end to the "practice of police entry into our holiest of holy shrines in the state which added to the bitterness among Sikhs in general and provoked youths and others into violent acts." Capt. Amrinder Singh insisted that these shrines were not being used as sanctuaries by terrorists. "Though some of them may be visiting these places, they were not their abode," he said.

The party alleged that the state had unleashed terrorism in Punjab and demanded an end to the practice of "eliminating innocent youths in fake encounters." He said the government could not do this even to terrorists until they were proved guilty. State terrorism, he alleged, was breeding individual terrorism.

The party also demanded that all terrorists lodged in jails be brought to trial, including the 33 Jodhpur detenus, their president, Mr Sinramjit Singh Mann, the soldiers who were arrested for rebellion during Operation Bluestar and the many MLAs and members of their party and the jathedars of various takhts.

Capt. Amrinder Singh wanted amnesty for all prisoners in Punjab on the lines being offered by the Sri Lanka President, Mr J.R. Jayewardene, to the LTTE men. At the same time, the memorandum demanded that those guilty of indulging in hooliganism and organising violence after the assassination of Mrs Indira Gandhi be tried.

Asked if the party would be willing to consider amnesty for these people, Capt. Amrinder Singh said the question could be considered only after the guilty were identified by the law enforcing agencies and brought to court. This has not been done.

Stating that the Punjab problem could be tackled only politically and not by the law-enforcing agencies, Capt. Amrinder Singh said the government should hold elections to the Sikh Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC) if it wanted to know who represented the Sikhs in Punjab for purpose of negotiations.

08309

**Gandhi Opens Nation's First Biomolecular Laboratory**  
46001144a *Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English*  
27 Nov 87 p 9

[Text] Hyderabad, Nov 26 (PTI). The Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, today inaugurated the country's first facility for the development and production of labelled biomolecules. Biomolecules are basic research tools in genetic engineering and biotechnology.

The Rs 1-crore laboratory, named "Jonaki," has been set up in the new campus of the Centre for Cellular and Molecular Biology (CCMB) here, by the department of atomic energy (DAE) under a joint project with the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR).

The new laboratory puts India in a select band of countries which produce labelled biomolecules.

About 30 research institutes in the country require this material for research, the largest user being the CCMB, whose new complex was dedicated to the nation by the Prime Minister.

"Jonaki," the latest addition to the chain of DAE laboratories in the country, means "firefly" in Bengali. It was so named after one of the laboratories products "Gama ATP," which is produced in nature by fireflies.

Mr Gandhi was taken around the new facility by the DAE secretary, Dr M.R. Srinivasan, the CCMB director, Dr. P.M. Bhargava and the CSIR director general, Dr. A.P. Misra.

Phosphorus-32 and Sulphur-35 labelled biomolecules are used as tracers by genetic engineers to study DNA, the genetic strand. The labelled DNA probes are of potential value for screening of population for diseases such as malaria and tuberculosis.

Genes therapy and prenatal diagnosis are the other important research areas where these substances are used, Dr R.G. Deshpande, director of the isotope group of the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre (BARC), said.

The short half life of the radio-isotope label and the heat sensitive nature of the biomolecules, requiring storage at low temperatures, make it expensive and impracticable to import them for regular use. However, the same factors would enable India to export the radioisotopes from here to some of the Asian countries, Dr Deshpande said.

Beginning with production of two biomolecules—Gamma ATP and Alpha CTP—the laboratory, which has been cleared from safety point of view, would produce the entire range of about 20 biomolecules in about a year's time. It expects to earn about Rs 50 lakhs a year through sales.

A new antimicrobial protein isolated by the CCMB scientists from Bull's seminal fluid is said to hold promise in fighting skin infections and controlling fertility in women.

CCMB's researches on cell division could lead to new approaches for management of cancer, and its work on genetics of "osmoregulation" could lead to a new technology for cultivation of plants in arid stones, according to Dr Bhargava.

A technique developed at the CCMB will now enable scientists to detect whether or not the malaria parasite carried by a person is resistant to chloroquine.

The laboratory is also developing probes for detecting the sex of cattle embryos and new techniques for sex reversals in species in which it has so far not been possible to do so.

The CCMB is also studying the micro-organisms brought from Antarctica. Preliminary studies have shown that some of these organisms secrete antibiotics, CCMB scientists say.

**PM ASKS FOR ACCOUNTS:** Meanwhile, Mr Gandhi, speaking to newsmen at the airport, said that charges of discrimination against the Telugu Desam party-ruled state was not true. "The state had told us that they have spent all the money given. We have asked for accounts, but they have not been given," he said.

The Prime Minister said that in view of the large number of people involved and the drought being widespread, huge amounts were being given for relief in states. "There must be some checks to see that the money was used for the purpose it was given. Unless that is done, we cannot give more," he said.

Inaugurating the silver jubilee celebrations of the Kamala Nehru polytechnic for women here this evening, the Prime Minister said emancipation of women should get top priority.

Special emphasis was laid in the new education policy on the involvement of women in developmental programmes.

**PROBE CRITICISED** Mr Rajiv Gandhi, today criticised the announcement of a three-member inquiry commission by the Andhra Pradesh chief minister, Mr N.T. Rama Rao to probe into charges of corruption and misuse of power by all ministers and prominent public men since 1956 and said it was "an attempt to stall action."

08309

**Lok Sabha Discusses Steps To Control Spending**  
46001144b Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English  
27 Nov 87 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, Nov 26 (PTI). The government will consider further cut in non-plan expenditure and also advise state governments to follow suit to help reduce budgetary deficit, control inflation and arrest price rise, the Union finance minister, Mr N.D. Tiwari, told the Rajya Sabha today.

Chief secretaries of different states who would attend a meeting convened by the finance ministry here on November 28 will be asked to convey this to their governments, Mr Tiwari said, replying to a three-day debate on the price situation in the country.

Mr Tiwari said inflation had gone up to 7.5 percent (based on wholesale price index) as on November 7 this year, which was mainly due to acute shortage of supplies in the economy triggered by the severe drought. Inflation was 6.8 percent last year during the same period.

Quoting figures supplied by the Reserve Bank, he said that efforts had been made to control money supply. It was 7.7 percent against 8.8 percent last year. Net bank credit declined to 12.3 percent from 14.3 percent, total bank credit slid to 3.9 percent from 4.1 percent, and food credit declined by 31 percent and non-food credit to 6.9 per cent against 7.1 percent last year.

The cash reserve ratio in banks rose to 10.1 percent from 9.5 percent of net demand, he said.

Mr Tiwari cautioned members not to be unduly alarmed over the deficit, as in any growing economy there was scope for deficit financing. It is inevitable, he said, adding he did not mean that it was necessary. With a rise in the GNP and national income, it would be absorbed by the economy, he said.

Detailed the burden on account of drought, he said drought relief measures had incurred an additional expenditure of Rs 1335 crores, taxation measures would yield Rs 550 crores and another Rs 650 crore would have to be mobilised.

The drought had affected small savings which had gone down by Rs 300 crores.

UNI adds: The state governments are being asked to set up control rooms in every district to monitor the supply of essential commodities and their prices, the finance minister said.

He sought the co-operation of all state governments and political parties in the national effort to see that in this year of drought, the rate of inflation did not go up to a double-digit level.

Mr Tiwari renewed his appeal to government employees at the Centre and in the states to deposit as much of their additional dearness allowance as possible in their provident fund account.

He agreed with some members that release of dearness allowance installments had an inflationary potential.

He explained the steps taken to economise on government expenditure and other measures to mobilise more resources to meet the additional expenditure needed for drought relief.

Discussions were going on with other ministries and the planning commission on how far non-plan expenditure could be cut.

He, however, added that there would be no cut in plan expenditure as that would create difficulties in development activities in the future.

#### LOK SABHA DEBATE (TOINS from Delhi)

Details of acute shortages of essential commodities in every part of the country, especially in rural areas, were narrated by Lok Sabha members cutting across party lines during the inconclusive debate on the price rise today.

There were no histrionics or partisan politics as members urged the government to rush succour to the needy, make necessary changes in fiscal and monetary policies, ensure that the public distribution system worked and severely punish hoarders and blackmarketeers.

Even Congress benches commented on the acuteness of the rise in prices, and members of all parties who took part in the discussion, conceded in sober tones that the issue had to remain above party politics.

Mr H.K.L. Bhagat, minister for civil supplies, is to reply to the debate tomorrow. But hearing about the agony of the people in the Ladakh region, he agreed to ensure that the region always had eight months' stock in essential commodities in hand to meet extraordinary situations.

Initiating the discussion, Dr Chinta Mohan (TDP) asked the minister for civil supplies to resign and called for structural changes in the system which alone, he said, could put an end to situations like rapid inflation.

Two speakers, Mrs Mamta Banerjee (Congress) and Mr Saifuddin Ahmed said that state governments also had some responsibilities when there was runaway escalation of prices, as the functioning of the public distribution system (PDS) came under their purview. But they also urged the Centre to give them enough stocks on time so that the PDS could run smoothly. Even the CPM benches applauded Mrs Banerjee, who is usually given to passionate anti-CPM outbursts in the house.

Mrs Nurmala Kumari Sshaktwat (Congress) called for control over big traders, checking tax evasion to stop the black economy and control on government expenditure.

Mr Sharad Dighe (Congress) said it was high time the government announced a national price policy, which would impose a ceiling on profits after taking into account the cost of production.



**Bengali Scientists Challenge Einstein's Theory**  
46001148 Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English  
29 Nov 87 p 1

[Article by Pathik Guha]

[Text] Calcutta, Nov 28—At a time when scientists all over the world are celebrating the birth centenary of the great guru of quantum physics, Erwin Schrodinger, three Calcutta physicists have raised an international storm with their "heretic" calculations threatening to disprove Einstein's Theory of Relativity.

Dr Amitava Raychaudhuri, Dr Amitava Datta and Dr Dipankar Home, all in their thirties, have slogged through a maze of computations to conclude that signals could be transmitted from one place to another at a speed faster than light—an inference that violates Einstein's theory.

Their study, first presented in the scholastic journal *Physics Letters A* and later detailed at many a conference, has become the hottest debate in physics. Queries from doyens as well as budding physicists are piling up at the desks of these young scientists.

Dr Raychaudhuri is a teacher of Calcutta University, Dr Home is with the Rose Institute and Dr Datta of Jadavpur University, is currently on a research assignment at the University of Dortmund in West Germany.

The trio's work concerns what is known as the EPR Paradox in particle physics. Developed by Albert Einstein and his two colleagues, Podolsky and T. Rosen (which explains the name of the paradox) in 1935, the puzzle had a very inspiring effect on at least a generation of science fiction writers. It held out the idea that information could be transmitted across light years instantaneously, a proposition that Einstein disparagingly called "spooky action at a distance!"

Ironically, the paradox was supposed to serve as a pinprick to quantum mechanics, the craze among particle physicists in the twenties. Dissatisfied with the quantum physicists' fondness for uncertainty, Einstein and his team drew a corollary of the quantum theory just to show that the theory was flawed. In quantum theory, one cannot measure the speed and position of a particle at a time; to get one is to miss the other.

So, in order to criticise quantum theory, Einstein attacked one of its premises. If the theory were accepted, they argued, then a puzzling situation was unavoidable: two particles, separated after an interaction, would always be related to each other like twins. One could influence the other no matter what the distance between them was. Even the act of measuring the properties of one could change the characteristics of the other. Events far far away, therefore, could influence an object here—

an outcome that contradicts everyday experience. Incidentally, this tantalising impossibility has been attracting its share of both cranks and thoughtful scientists who are always eager to confront the murkiest limits of the laws of nature.

Startling though it may sound, the Calcutta physicists, whose calculations were based on the nature of the subatomic particle known as K-mesons, have proved just that. A bunch of particles, separated from another bevy after interactions, is influenced by the twin. And this influence is independent of the distance separating the two groups. In other words, a message (of influence) can traverse an infinite distance literally in no time. The velocity of light—a finite quantity (about 300,000 kilometres per second)—is not consequently the ultimate as far as movement is concerned.

The conclusion reached by the city physicists inevitably leads to a possibility, at least in principle—that you can communicate faster than light by Morse signalling. In an entirely different context, it might rekindle scientists' interest in another startling possibility: existence of faster-than-light particles called tachyons (suggested by E.C.G. Sudarshan).

As expected, the trio's work has been examined and reported by journals far and wide "Quantum test undermines Einstein," declared the British science magazine *New Scientist* in its report on the issue. The storm has now spilled over to international dailies; the *New York Times* is one of them. The paper carries a telephonic conversation with Dr Datta, who is in Germany. However, a number of US physicists, also interviewed by the *Times*, challenged the trio's *modus operandi*. It is miscalculation, they tend to say. "What they have done is really gross," commented Dr Abner Shominy, a quantum physicist with the Boston University.

Dr Home, who addressed a seminar at Delphi, Greece, the birthplace of Schrodinger, on the topic during October 12-17, is unfazed by the scepticism. "So far, no one has pointed out a specific error," he said, adding, "maybe, there is something wrong in the normal assumptions we based our calculations on. But even then we gain. If the assumptions are to be thrown off, then that will lead to a shake-up in our understanding of basic physics." Dr Home is very enthusiastic about scientists like Prof. Roger Penrose of Oxford and Prof. A.S. Wightman of Princeton, who have appreciated their work and are involved in further research on their studies.

Prof. Penrose and Prof. Franco Selleri (from Italy) will speak about this at the Neils Bohr symposium to be organised by the Calcutta Mathematical Society at Science College on December 29.

"No, there are no mistakes in our calculations," comments Dr Raychaudhuri, who is back at the Science College after a one-year stint at the famous European particle accelerator at CERN near Geneva. The particle

physicist, who is also a prizewinner from the Indian Academy of Sciences like Dr Home, is, however, shy about the startling outcome of faster-than-light signalling. Having been brought up on the revered ideas of Einstein, "I somehow cannot lap up the idea aesthetically," he confesses. "Rather, I love to think that the puzzling results arrived at by us will lead to some reformation of the ideas of quantum mechanics," he adds.

Whatever may be the eventual outcome, Einstein is unlikely to survive unscathed.

08309

### Reportage on Developments in Communist Parties

#### CPI Leader's Press Conference

46001147 New Delhi PATRIOT in English  
18 Nov 87 p 6

[Text] The CPI has criticised the government for its silence on the developments in the Gulf region, signing new defence deals with the US and for underplaying the role of the CIA in India.

These postures have contributed to the erosion of the country's anti-imperialist foreign policy, party general secretary C. Rajeswara Rao said at a press conference in Delhi on Tuesday.

The party has urged the Government to take all possible initiatives for a ceasefire by the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) in Sri Lanka to facilitate laying down of arms by the LTTE and early withdrawal of the force from the island nation.

A resolution adopted at the four-day meeting of the central executive meeting of the party, said that at the same time, there could be no withdrawal of the IPKF from Sri Lanka until its mission of disarming the militants was fulfilled.

The party reiterated its support for the Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement even though it had run into difficulties.

Mr Rao also criticised the Government's economic policies, which have increased unemployment, led to price rise and opened the door to multinationals. "It is revolting to hear a Central Minister talk about opening casinos in the country," Mr Rao remarked in this context.

Among the other issues highlighted by Mr Rao were the growth of communalism and religious fundamentalism, and Soviet leader Gorbachev's initiative for reduction of nuclear missiles by the USSR and the US. These issues were discussed at the party's Central Executive Committee meeting in Delhi from 12 to 15 November, according to a communique released at the press conference.

On communalism, the CEC urged all left, secular and democratic forces to take serious note of the recent RSS conclave and its chief Deoras's call for a Hindu state as an alternative to the Congress Government and its open bid for political power.

The CEC reiterated its opposition to communalism and approved to the line to keep the BJP out of any joint movement for an alternative to the present government.

It also reaffirmed its commitment to the mass campaign being organised by the left parties against communalism which will culminate in Delhi on 9 December along with a mass campaign on burning issues such as land reforms, price rise, jobs and education for all, drought and famine relief, closure of factories, trade union rights remunerative prices for peasants' produce and equal status for women.

The two-fold campaign would demand the resignation of the present government in the march to Parliament, expected to be one-million-strong, the largest ever, said Mr Homi Daji, secretary of the National Council.

The need for a political solution to the Punjab problem and the need to isolate terrorists further through mass rallies all over the State, mass campaigns for drought and flood relief, the formation of the Kranti Morcha in UP by left and secular parties, the successful 70th anniversary of the October Revolution and the massive rally in Hyderabad on the 40th anniversary of the Telengana armed struggle, were the other issues addressed in the CEC communique released at the press conference.

#### Rao 27 Nov Press Conference

46001147 Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English  
28 Nov 87 p 9

[Text] Trivandrum, Nov 27. The CPI general secretary, Mr Rajeswara Rao, said here today that his party and the CPM had come "much closer" than before in recent months. This was also true of the world communist parties in general.

Addressing a news conference, Mr Rao referred to the decision of the 15th congress of the Chinese Communist Party and said these were significant not only from the point of view of maintaining world peace, but also in improving relations between India and China.

"We think they have reached a decision that they should seek settlement of problems in an amicable way," he added.

He said the Chinese leadership had given up the "adventurous" policies which had prevented the country's progress and adopted a "realistic" approach to national development. Democratisation and openness were among the new changes.

"We have decided, in principle, to establish relations with the Chinese party. The modalities will be worked out at the next meeting of the national council," Mr Rao stated. He recalled that CPI leaders had already held discussions with two delegations from that country.

When his attention was drawn to the fact that the Soviet Prime Minister, Mr N.I. Ryzhkov, had recently commended the "dynamic leadership" of Mr Rajiv Gandhi while the CPI continued to press for his resignation, the CPI leader said too much should not be read into such remarks. "He (Mr Ryzhkov) has concentrated on the long-standing friendship between the two countries, not on the relationship between the two governments," he added.

He charged the Centre with adopting a discriminatory attitude towards the non-Congress governments with regard to the allocation of funds. The worst-hit by the "bias" were the left-led regimes in Kerala, West Bengal and Tripura.

Mr Rao said the Centre was "starving Kerla of funds" by adjusting this year's allocations for development works against debts incurred by the previous Congress-led government.

"If thereby, he wants to strangle economically the progressive Kerala government, I warn him that such petty tricks will not be tolerated by the people," Mr Rao stated.

He lashed out at the "disastrous economic policies" pursued by the Rajiv Gandhi government, including "support to monopolies, downgrading of the public sector, import liberalisation, indiscriminate computerisation and throwing the doors open to transnational companies." These were not only increasing the people's hardship but also endangering the country's economic self-reliance.

The moves to "bring U.S. imperialists into our defence industries, to train our top administrative personnel through U.S. experts and to test genetic serum on Indians are, to say the least, ominous."

He stated that Mr Gandhi's policies had encouraged communal and reactionary forces. "His government has proved itself incapable of solving any of the acute problems facing the country, including maintaining national unity." It was in this context that the left parties had called for his resignation and launched a movement to evolve "an alternative of left and secular and democratic parties and forces on the basis of a programme."

He reiterated the left parties' "total opposition" to the suggestion of some secular parties that the proposed alternative should include even communal parties. They seemed to have forgotten the "same experience of 1977-79."

Mr Rao said the recent Nagpur conclave called by the R.S.S. chief, Mr Balasaheb Deoras, had "exposed thoroughly the claim of the BJP to be a non-communal party." He pointed out that Mr Deoras had stated that only a strong Hindu organisation can be an alternative to the Congress."

### CPI-CPSU Relationship

46001147 New Delhi PATRIOT in English  
27 Nov 87 p 4

[Editorial: "Communists and CPSU"]

[Text] As a ready source of talking points against the Communist Party of India, its relationship with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been seemingly inexhaustible. The myths and mysteries of this relationship have been dissected over the decades—indeed, since the Bolshevik revolution, even before India's Communist Party was given a formal persona. The British Indian Government long cogitated on the "Red Paril" emanating from Soviet Central Asia and how the Indian Empire was to be quarantined from its revolutionary contagion. The Third International was disbanded; the Conimform disappeared from the scene; and the Communist Party of the USSR, after the Second World War, ceased to be the only governing communist party. Meanwhile, improving material conditions in the Soviet Union and the changed world setting have seen parallel changes in the communist parties the world over. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has often initiated changed thoughts, as behoves a party which had been the catalyst of titanic changes in the history of modern world.

But to political ignoramuses and paranoid anti-Communists time has stood still. There is still a mythical incorporeal Comintern functioning from somewhere in Moscow, sending out command words to India's Communist Party (or, better still, parties) on policy decisions and operational cybernetics. It is easy thus to see each major policy decision of the CPI—and, lately even the CPI-M—in terms of Moscow's desires and the Kremlin's approval (or disapproval). It serves a two-fold purpose. The detractors do not have to answer rationally what the Communists are saying. Furthermore, the impression is invaluable as a political weapon: It condemns the communist movement as an external intrusion.

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev recently in Moscow—he was addressing the foreign delegates who had come to join the festivities of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution—repudiated in telling terms the suggestion that the CPSU enjoyed a preeminent position in relation to other communist parties, governing or non-governing. He castigated the "arrogance of omniscience" in any party. National policy of each Communist Party is determined by local conditions and the concerned party's own perceptions, right or wrong. Mr Gorbachev was not the first Soviet or Indian Communist leader to

stress the autonomous character of the communist parties. Yet, as people, we Indians think nothing of inviting comments on our internal affairs from visiting foreign dignitaries who, needless to say, are often embarrassed by our obstreperous interlocutors demanding opinions on matters which strictly belong to India's domestic field. "Internal developments in India are an internal matter of this country," said Soviet Prime Minister Nikolai Ryzhkov when he was invited to prescribe a role for India's Communist Parties. When he said that it was not "for us (the CPSU) to pass judgment" on the CPI's policies, he was merely restating what Mr Gorbachev had said before. But would his repudiation end the speculation? There are many who would not take "no" for an answer from Moscow on this issue.

#### **Relations With PRC Communists**

46001147 *Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English*  
23 Nov 87 p 8

[Editorial: "Resumption Soon"]

[Text] Formal ties between the Communist Party of India (CPI) and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) are about to be resumed pending ratification by the CPI's national council early in the coming year. This is understandable. Things have moved a long way from the time when the CPI and the CCP felt it necessary, if not to break their party-to-party ties, to put them into the deep freezer. Indeed, it is ironical that the "bourgeois" Congress party should have first resumed such ties with the CCP since the Sino-Indian border conflict in 1962 was the basic cause for the deterioration in relations between the two communist parties. In short, the resumption of a more cordial and regular relationship has long been due. The delay cannot be explained in terms of Sino-Indian tensions. Despite the absence of a border settlement, these have not been as acute as between the Chinese and the Soviets. And, contrary to widespread assumption, the CPI is not a Soviet puppet who waits for a signal from Moscow. Its sustained opposition to the ruling Congress since the end of the emergency is evidence enough of its relative independence. However the CCP could have been more favourably disposed towards the CPI if Sino-Soviet relations had improved. This is now happening.

The CPSU under Mr Gorbachev is determined to have the utmost flexibility in its foreign policy and can no longer realistically deny other "brethren" parties the same freedom (with the exception of some of the East European parties). Indeed, the CPSU no longer wishes to, and in any case, could not even if it wanted to. There is no longer any "international communist centre," even in a formal sense. Nationalist preoccupations now take precedence over the claims of international solidarity. The CCP, on its part, having long given up the Maoist idea of replacing Moscow as an "international centre," has sought to sanctify this state of affairs through the establishment of four guiding principles for party-to-party relationships—"equality, independence, mutual

respect and non-interference." Maoism and Stalinism, whatever their differences, and despite their shared commitment to building socialism in one country did also believe in the need for some such centre. It was inevitable, therefore, that de-Maoification and de-Stalinisation from which no communist party in the world has been entirely immune would alter the foundation of the international communist movement. Its specific impact on the Indian communist movement is still not quite clear but the general thrust is clear—increasing moderation and willingness to compromise on domestic and foreign policy matters.

#### **CPI-ML Central Committee Convention**

46001147 *Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English*  
24 Nov 87 pp 1, 9

[Text] Patna, Nov 23—CPI(M-L)'s Provisional Central Committee has launched a fresh movement to unite the "minorities, both religious and ethnic, Harijans, Adivasis and all other oppressed classes" all over the country to raise a political force at the national level opposed to Congress(I) rule in the country.

The newly-formed "Convention on communalism and threat to diversity" believes that the Congress(I) is the real oppressor and culprit.

At the conclusion of its three-day convention at the Lajpat Rai Hall here today, the convention in a series of resolutions asked for redefining the Constitution and drive the country a real federal structure. The concept of federation on the Indian union, according to the convention, should be on "cultural identity" rather than linguistic considerations.

The convention, which is yet to take firm roots, has the national steering committee comprising Mr Bhaskar Nandi (West Bengal), Mr Santosh Rana of the CPI(ML), Mr Manish Jani, (the Gujarat student leader), Mr J.S. Dasanjh (all India Sikh Students' Federation), and Mr Darshan Singh Ragi.

Efforts are being made to include members from the Gorkha National Liberation Front, All Assam Students' Union and Jharkhand movement leader. At the convention here, Mr B.P. Kesri, convener of Jharkhand Coordination Committee, occupied a vantage position on the dais and the Jharkhand movement formed the central theme of the deliberations.

The focus of the convention was on issues like the Jharkhand movement, the Punjab agitation, the GNLF and the problems of the minorities. According to Mr Basant Kumar Chowdhary, the convener of the Bihar convention, most of the 150 delegates were either Muslims or Christians. There were representatives from Punjab and the Unified Akali Dal leader. Mr Ujagar Singh attended the opening session which was also addressed among others by Syed Sahabuddin, Janata M.P., and Mr Ram Bilas Paswan of Dalit Sena.

While political observers frown at such exercises that will foment "communalism" of the minorities and religious bigots, the organizers of the convention felt that the Congress, particularly during the past seven years, not only patronized Hindu fundamentalism but also encouraged oppression against the minorities. The speakers, including Mr Sahabuddin, felt that the minorities were being treated as second class citizens and the same was the case with other oppressed sections, including the "Jharkhandis."

The convention felt that there was a threat to the country's unity and if there was another partition, the Congress Government would have to take full responsibility.

The first resolution of the convention defines India as a mere "geographical expression" of different nationalities, religions, languages and "cultural communities." It asks for vesting of all powers to the States (formed on cultural identity) with the Centre retaining defence, currency, foreign affairs and telecommunications.

The resolutions also attacked the Bihar Government for perpetuating crimes on the landless, oppressed and minorities.

What is significant is the new approach of the CPI(ML) brand of Communism to catch the attention of the intellectuals by giving another slogan of "need to reconstruct the democratic institutions."

The convention, besides giving full support to the demand for a separate Jharkhand State, also supported the creation of States on the basis of cultural identity though no mention is made of the Unified Akali Dal's demand for the Khalistan.

The convention hopes to influence the downtrodden and the minorities against what it calls the "corrupt and Fascist Rajiv Gandhi Government." Though, what shape this movement will take in the near future is not clear even to the leaders of the convention, they feel that a consensus will emerge among the minorities, Harijans and Adivasis that would work for the defeat of the Congress(I) Government.

The convention leaders are aware of the frustration, particularly among the weaker sections, with the Congress(I) and want to exploit the situation. Right now, the choice is limited, says Mr Basant Kumar Choudhary, but "any Government that replaces the Congress(I) will have our support."

Similar conventions were held in Calcutta last year and another, the second in the series, was held at Jalandar in September. The organizers now plan to hold conventions in Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Karnataka, Assam and Haryana.

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## Papers Report Opposition Efforts Against Gandhi

### New Delhi Rally

46001155 Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
23 Nov 87 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, Nov 22. Leaders of various national and regional Opposition parties, including the Bharatiya Janata Party, the Janata Party, the Lok Dal, the Telugu Desam and the Asom Gana Parishad, today asked the people to overthrow the 'corrupt and inefficient' Government led by the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi.

Launching a scathing attack on the Congress(I) misrule at a mammoth rally at the Ramlila Grounds here, the leaders, among whom were the Chief Ministers of Haryana and Andhra Pradesh, stressed the need for mobilising the people against corruption and rising prices and other evils so that the present Government would be forced to resign.

The leaders stressed the need for consolidating the unity and integrity of the country and building of a just and equitable society where economic and social disparities would not exist. They also underlined the imperative of forming a joint front of Opposition parties to lead the struggle. Incidentally, leaders of the Jan Morcha, who were scheduled to address the rally, did not turn up.

### Tight Security

The Delhi Police and the security agencies had made elaborate arrangements to prevent any incident. People could enter the venue only after passing through metal detectors. The roads leading to the Ramlila Grounds were cordoned off.

It was unanimously resolved, by a show of hands, to end the ineffective inefficient, corrupt and non-performing administration of the Congress(I) not only in Delhi, but all over the country. It was also decided that if elections were not held in Delhi in February 1988 and full Statehood was not granted, the Opposition parties, particularly the BJP, would not let the Administration function. In this connection, they would also launch a "jail bhara" movement in January.

### 'Gala Affairs' Criticised

The BJP leader, Mr A.B. Vajpayee, the Janata Party President, Mr Chandra Shekhar, and others criticised the Government for failing to tackle the drought situation in the country. They said the Government was only interested in wasting crores of rupees on gala affairs like festivals and conferences rather than on providing relief to the suffering millions. Not only human beings but also animals were dying of hunger and thirst. The Government had failed to provide food, fodder and drinking water. Rather the Prime Minister was interested in

visiting drought-affected areas as a 'public relations' exercise to retrieve his image after the Bofor and other scandals that had rocked him and his 'coterie.'

The Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister, Mr. N.T. Rama Rao, the Haryana Chief Minister, Mr. Devi Lal; and the Lok Dal leader, Mr. Karpoori Thakur, also reiterated that the government had lost the ethical right to rule the country and the people no more reposed their trust and faith in the Congress(I). Referring to the Government's 'propaganda' that the regional parties were out to disintegrate the country and that they were playing into the hands of foreign powers, the speakers said that the regional parties were committed to national integration and unity. The interests of the country came first, they said.

#### **'Foreign Hand Threat'**

It was pointed out that it was the Congress(I) which was playing into the hands of the 'foreign powers' as was evident from the Bofors and other 'shady' deals. It was categorically stated that during the Janata regime no one in the then Government had ever talked of threats from foreign powers. In fact the slogan of 'threat from foreign powers' was being raised by the ruling party to divert the people's attention from the burning problems facing the nation.

The Government came under heavy fire for its Sri Lankan policy and for sending the Indian Peace-Keeping Force there to fight the Tamils whom the Government had originally set out to help. Mr. Vajpayee disagreed with the Government that Israel or Pakistan would have taken advantage of the situation in Sri Lanka had India not signed the agreement with the Sri Lankan President. India's action in sending the IPKF there would have been justified had Israel and Pakistan gone there. In that eventuality, the whole nation would have supported the Government, he said.

Mr. Chandra Shekhar said that while the Government was spending thousands of crores on introduction of computers in schools there were a large number of schools without teachers or even roofs.

#### **Punjab Imbroglio**

The leaders felt that 'inexperienced' government had allowed the Punjab problem to drag on unnecessarily as effective steps were not taken in view of the strategy to win the Haryana elections but significantly enough the Congress had suffered a defeat at the hustings. Referring to the Indian Express imbroglio, they vehemently criticised the Government for attempting to throttle the freedom of the press. They also alleged that the provisions of the Terrorist Act were being misused in Gujarat to harass Opposition workers.

They demanded that the Government come out with the names of the agents who were involved in the Bofors and German submarine deals. It was alleged that the commissions from the deals were being smuggled out of the country and deposited in foreign banks.

Mr. Devi Lal, Mr. Karpoori Thakur and the Asom Gana Parishad Vice-President and State Panchayat and Rural Development Minister, Mr. Sandhra Arandsa, alleged that the Congress(I) had won the Nagaland Assembly elections through "money, muscle power and indiscriminate misuse of the State Government machinery." Denying that any rigging had taken place in the recent by-elections to the Haryana Assembly, Mr Devi Lal said his party was prepared to resign the two Assembly seats and go in for fresh by-elections to disprove the allegations.

#### **"Drought-Relief" for Nagaland?**

Mr. Karpoori Thakur alleged that though there was no drought in Nagaland, crores of rupees were allotted to the State Government for providing relief to the "drought affected" people. This money was, however, utilised for influencing the voters during the elections, he added. Of a total population of 7,74,000 [as printed] in the State there were 7,60,000 [as printed] voters, he pointed out.

The BJP President, Mr. L.K. Advani, who did not speak, got up from the dais midway and crossed over to the press enclosure where he sat till the end.

The Delhi Pradesh BJP President, Mr. Madan Lal Khurana, who presided over the meeting, said the five year rule of the Congress(I) in Delhi had been one of "broken hopes and gross betrayal." The ruling party had not fulfilled even a single promise made to the Delhi electorate. Expressing lack of confidence in the Delhi Administration, Mr. Khurana warned that if attempts were made to postpone the elections under the pretext of an "illusionary" proposal for a new set up in Delhi, it would be strongly resisted by the people.

#### **Coordination Committee**

46001155 Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English  
29 Nov 87 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, Nov 28. In their attempt to forge an agitational unity among the opposition, the Janata Party, the Jan Morcha, the Lok Dal(A) and the Congress(S) today announced the formation of a co-ordination committee.

They also invited other likeminded parties and groups to join them in the "great national endeavour" and appealed to them for an early response, as they were of the view that "the task brooks no delay."

In a joint statement, the Janata Party president, Mr Chandra Shekhar, the Lok Dal(A) president, Mr Ajit Singh, the Congress(S) president, Mr Sarat Chandra Sinha, and the Jan Morcha national convener, Mr Ram Dhan, said the attempt was to forge "a vehicle for the people to articulate their aspirations and to launch a struggle against the anti-people policies of the ruling party."

To co-ordinate the activities and programmes of the new front, a special committee consisting of Mr. K.P. Unnikrishnan (Cong.S), Dr Subramanian Swamy (Lok Dal-A), Mr Arif Mohammed Khan (Jan Morcha), and Mr Yashwant Sinha (Janata) was also set up.

The joint statement of the leaders of the four organisations said having discussed the "critical situation" prevailing in the country they had recognised the "urgent need for consolidating the national, secular and democratic forces" in the country. And hence the new formation.

The statement written in a highly polemical style said, "The question before the nation today is not merely to change an incompetent, ineffective and corrupt regime. The question is to save the country from utter ruination and from total chaos.

"The question today is not only to put an end to the disastrous policies of the government but to adopt a new set of policies which will bring about real social transformation and will create a new socio-economic order free from all forms of exploitation.

"We have not only to change the government and recast the policies we have to change the system as well."

To this end the four organisations listed 14 crucial issues which ranged from strengthening national unity and security and eliminating corruption at all levels to providing a new deal to the agricultural sector and land reforms.

Remarkable in the span of issues covered, the virtual election manifesto of the new grouping also talks of putting an end to social and economic exploitation and attacking the concentration of economic power; ending atrocities against the minorities, the scheduled castes and tribes, other weaker sections and women; and providing employment and educational opportunities to socially deprived sections within the terms of reference of the Mandal commission and electoral reforms.

The statement also lists among the crucial issues before the nation the need for evolving a new economic policy of self-reliance, guaranteeing price stability and employment generation, while at the same time reviving the swadeshi spirit. Simultaneously, it emphasises the need for enhanced R and D to strengthen the indigenous scientific base while putting curbs on multinationals.

It talks of modifying the terms of trade, improving the quality of life of the urban and the rural poor, guaranteeing effective participation of the workers, landless labourers and other deprived sections in the economic life of the country; providing need-based minimum wages in both the industrial and rural sectors; decentralising political and economic power and achieving total literacy by 2000 A.D.

The statement adds that the four organisations firmly believe that these issues, among others, "must constitute the core of the strategy to give the country an alternative policy, a new social order and a better tomorrow."

TOINS adds from Pune: Mr. Shekhar, appealed to "friends" like Mr. A.B. Vajpayee, Mr. Vasantrao Patil and Mr. Bhairon Singh Shekhawat to join the united front of the opposition.

Mr Shekhar said while talking to reporters that patriots should join the front to root out corruption and wipe out maladministration.

Referring to Mr. Patil, the Janata leader said if the Maharashtra leader had "some fire left in him he should use it to burn the evils afflicting the nation." He said Mr Patil should give up the idea of forming a parallel Shetkari Sanghatana and leave the Congress. He would consider it an honour if the former chief minister joined the front.

He said the front's immediate task would be to secure the support of the Lok Dal(B). It would also try to rope in the Peasants and Workers Party in Maharashtra, the ruling Asom Gana Parishad in Assam, the Telugu Desam in Andhra Pradesh and the DMK in Tamil Nadu.

The Janata leader said the front had formed a secretariat that would soon announce an action programme.

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### Reportage on Visit of Soviet Prime Minister

#### Gandhi Speech, Theme of Talks

46001156 New Delhi PATRIOT in English  
21 Nov 87 p 1

[Excerpt] India and the Soviet Union on Friday decided to give fresh impetus to their bilateral economic cooperation by extending it to several new areas, including joint ventures and production cooperation.

They also agreed upon fresh Soviet credits to India to help it build thermal power plants, Soviet collaboration in development of the Karnal oil refinery, and cooperation in the civil aviation, railways and transportation sectors.

A formal agreement on new joint ventures and production cooperation is to be finalised during Soviet Premier Nikolai Ryzhkov's current six-day official visit to the country. Another agreement to simplify visa procedures to facilitate expansion of trade relations will be worked out shortly.

The decisions, which are expected to raise economic relations to a qualitatively and quantitatively new stage, flowed from the first round of official talks between Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Mr. Ryzhkov, who arrived to a ceremonial welcome earlier in the morning.

The two Prime Ministers met separately without aides for over three hours later in the afternoon and discussed bilateral relations, regional situations and international issues of mutual interest.

No details of the two leaders' exclusive talks were given out by spokesmen of either side. But Mr. Gandhi's speech at the banquet later in the night indicated the talks and centred on Indo-Soviet relations, which he called a "unique blend of stability and dynamism," India's efforts at peace and normalcy in its neighbourhood, and various aspects of the crucial issues of world peace and nuclear disarmament.

The exchanges were considered significant in the context of the forthcoming summit between Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and US President Ronald Reagan and a limited US-USSR agreement on intermediate nuclear missile forces, as well as against the backdrop of Sino-Soviet border settlement and recently concluded Sino-Indian talks.

Mr Gandhi's reference to India's "continuous discussions" with its neighbours to improve the "total environment of regional peace and cooperation" was believed to cover India's talks not only with China but also Pakistan.

His observation that "peace is only possible through peaceful coexistence" and that elimination of nuclear weapons "is an imperative of peaceful coexistence" was believed to be suggestive that the issue of regional nuclear presences and ambitions also figured in the talks.

Before retiring for their separate 180-minute talks, Mr Gandhi and Mr Ryzhkov joined their full-scale ministerial and official level delegations for about 40 minutes of plenary discussions and reviewed bilateral relations and major East-West developments since Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's historic visit to New Delhi a year ago.

Mr Gandhi welcomed Mr Ryzhkov on his maiden visit to the country as the Soviet Premier, and underlined its importance for the bilateral relations. He also paid tributes to Mr Gorbachev for his bold and energetic measures to promote disarmament and global peace.

Mr Ryzhkov in his opening remarks referred to the INF agreement between the USSR and the US and various peace initiatives taken by his country as steps to achieve the goals enshrined in the Delhi Declaration, jointly signed by Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Gorbachev, to make the world free from wars and threats of war and the nuclear menace.

Both leaders noted the progress made in implementing the bilateral decisions taken during Mr Gorbachev's visit last year, and underlined the need to explore more avenues of cooperation. They also stressed the need to expand and diversify the economic relations and bilateral annual trade turnover from the level of Rs 4,000 crore this year to Rs 5,000 crore next year.

Following up on the theme set by the two leaders, the ministerial and official level delegations of the two sides during their 150-minute talks later reviewed the state of bilateral economic cooperation and considered practical measures to raise two-way trade by 25 per cent next year.

Both sides emphasised the need to expand new forms of economic cooperation, particularly joint ventures and production cooperation, and decided to formalise an agreement on this before the Soviet Premier leaves for home next Wednesday. Besides an agreement on visa procedures, another on higher education is to be signed.

Earlier speaking at a banquet the Indian Prime Minister hosted in honour of his Soviet counterpart, Mr. Gandhi urged the two super powers to quicken the pace of their negotiations on nuclear disarmament and said that "strategies of bloc rivalry based on nuclear deterrence carry no credible assurance of durable security."

Mr Gandhi expressed the hope that the imminent summit between General Secretary Gorbachev and United States President Ronald Reagan would push forward the process of disarmament.

He was confident that the two leaders would be able to achieve the objective of eliminating all nuclear weapons from earth and prevent their extension into space.

Describing the various proposals made by the Soviet Union for nuclear disarmament as "timely and imaginative," Mr Gandhi said "your positive response to the concerns expressed by the leaders of the six-nations five continent peace initiative encourages us to persist in our endeavours."

Speaking about the deteriorating security environment in South Asia, the Prime Minister said "we are in continuous discussion with our neighbours to improve the total environment of regional peace and cooperation."



In this context he referred to the agreement India signed with Sri Lanka "which is bringing to an end the difficult internal conflict there." Peace was possible only through peaceful coexistence, he added.

### **Content of 24 Nov Talks**

46001156 New Delhi PATRIOT in English  
25 Nov 87 p 1

[Text] The Soviet Union on Tuesday appeared to have nodded its assent to India's initiative for "Paris peace talks" on the Kampuchean problem between President Heng Samrin and the exiled ruler Prince Narodom Sihanouk before the year-end.

The issue was discussed "at length" between Minister of State for External Affairs K. Natwar Singh and Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Yuli Vorontsov, while Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Premier Nikolai Ryzhkov met without aides for 90 minutes at the Rashtrapati Bhavan on Tuesday afternoon.

While declining to give details of the one-to-one discussions between Mr Gandhi and Mr Ryzhkov, an official spokesman affirmed to newsmen later that at the ministerial talks the Soviet side had "appreciated efforts by India to find a peaceful, political solution" to the Kampuchean problem. The subject had figured at Mr Gandhi's first formal round of talks with Mr Ryzhkov last Friday, immediately after the Soviet Premier arrived in the Capital on a six-day official visit. The two sides had examined in detail the Indian initiative on the Kampuchean problem and the positive response that had been received from both President Samrin and Prince Sihanouk.

President Samrin in an interview to the French news agency last month agreed to meet Prince Sihanouk in Paris in December in order to find a political solution to the stalemated Kampuchean problem.

Mr Natwar Singh had visited the three Indochina states and the ASEAN member-countries earlier, and opened up dialogue.

Besides Kampuchea, Mr Gandhi and Premier Ryzhkov at their exclusive talks on Tuesday appeared to have touched upon the Afghanistan problem, Gulf situation, and regional situation of mutual interest, as also the bilateral relations.

The issues also figured prominently at Mr Natwar Singh's discussions with Mr. Vorontsov. Discussing Afghanistan and the prospects of a settlement under UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar's initiative, both sides were agreed that they had a stake in the independence, sovereignty and nonaligned status of Afghanistan. They also agreed to remain in touch on the subject.

The latest developments in the Gulf region, including the need for impementation of the UN Assembly resolution number 598, calling for early termination of the Iran-Iraq war, and withdrawal of the foreign naval presence from region, were also discussed.

Mr Natwar Singh was assisted during the talks by Foreign Secretary K.P.S. Menon, Ambassador T.N. Kaul, and Indian envoy to Afghanistan I.P. Khosla.

Earlier in the day, Mr Ryzhkov met Human Resource Development Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao, Finance Minister N.D. Tiwari, Defence Minister K.C. Pant and Energy Minister V.P. Sathe.

Bilateral relations and programmes for cooperation, expansion in the fields of defence, education and culture, trade and commerce, and in the energy sector are believed to have been reviewed by the Soviet Premier with the senior minister.

In each field, the cooperation spans vast areas and following Mr Mikhail Gorbachev's intensive discussions with Mr Gandhi last year the two sides have decided to widen the bilateral exchanges substantially. While outlines have already been decided upon, at Tuesday's meetings some specific areas are understood to have been discussed by the Soviet Premier.

### **Trade, Education Protocols**

46001156 Madras THE HINDU in English  
25 Nov 87 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, Nov 24. India and the Soviet Union today signed a trade protocol for 1988 which envisages a trade turnover of Rs. 5,000 crores, 25 per cent more than the anticipated turnover of Rs. 4,000 crores in 1987. Exports and imports are expected to balance each other next year.

This is one of the protocols signed to mark the visit of the Soviet Prime Minister, Mr. Nikolai Ryzhkov to India, emphasising new forms of cooperation in a variety of fields.

The total value of Indo-Soviet trade rose from Rs. 5,800 crores in 1976-80 to Rs. 16,820 crores in 1981-85. But the turnover in 1986 at Rs. 3,680 crores was lower than in 1985 owing to a fall in the prices of crude oil, which is one of India's major imports from the USSR.

This led to a lower generation of rupees in the Soviet account, adversely affecting India's exports to the USSR. The situation was met in the short term by making additional imports of some other items like newsprint, urea, machinery and equipment. Against the background of the rupee resource constraint, the turnover in 1987 envisaged a modest growth but the latest indications are that it would be Rs. 200 crores higher than the target of Rs. 3,800 crores.

### Rouble Credit

In a separate ceremony at the Rashtrapati Bhavan, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and Mr. Ryzhkov signed an agreement on technical cooperation for the Karnal Oil Refinery and a new 500 MW thermal power station. The agreement included a credit of 770 million roubles (Rs. 1150 crores).

The protocol signed today by the Soviet Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade, Mr. E.P. Bavrín, and the Commerce Secretary, Mr. A.N. Verma, envisages more diversified and broadbased trade next year. A number of new items have been added to the bilateral trade.

The new items India will import include plastics raw materials, machinery and equipment to be supplied under production cooperation, lease of civil aviation aircraft, coal for energy purposes, jet fuel, metal scrap, copper, timber logs, match splints and consumer and industrial goods besides coking coal, soda ash, PVC, sawn goods and waste paper.

Among the new items India will export to the USSR are methylene chloride, household chemicals, machinery and equipment—all under production cooperation, colour picture tubes for television sets, equipment and commodities procured from India by Soviet organisations or enterprises and consumer and industrial goods.

Until now, the Soviet Union has supplied to India mainly crude oil and petroleum products, non-ferrous metals, chemical fertilizers, manufactures and raw materials such as newsprint, asbestos, waste paper, steel and raw hides and machinery and equipment. The main items exported from India have been agricultural commodities (tea, coffee, cashew, spices, etc.), minerals and ores (mica and alumina), textiles, chemicals and allied products and engineering goods.

New forms of cooperation, which include production cooperation, joint ventures and cooperation in the services sector are envisaged. This is a part of the strategy adopted to raise the volume of bilateral trade by two and a half times in the next five years. The volume of two-way trade under production cooperation may be over Rs 90 crores in 1988 and will go up substantially in the succeeding years.

Indian companies have shown interest in more than 130 joint ventures as well as transfer of technologies. The two countries are negotiating an agreement on new forms of economic cooperation for facilitating joint venture projects. In the services sector Indian firms are building two hotels at Samarkhand and Bukhara. The construction of eight more hotels is proposed to begin by 1990—two of them at Tashkent. Direct ties will be established between Indian and Soviet firms.

### Protocol on Education

PTI reports:

One of the protocols on education envisages equivalence of degree and diplomas of one country by institutions of the other. Certificate holders will be eligible to join higher educational institutions in both countries. This five-year protocol comes into force with immediate effect.

Another protocol in the field of education pertains to training of students and highly qualified specialists for the year 1987-88.

Under this, both sides will assist the higher education institutions in exchange of students at the graduate and post-graduate levels and teachers, scientists and other specialists for scientific, pedagogical studies and advanced specialised training programme.

Mr. G.A. Yagadin, Minister for Higher and Specialised Secondary Education, and Mr. Zakharov signed the protocols on education on behalf of the Soviet Union. The Minister of the Human Resource Development, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, signed for India.

### Ryzhkov Press Conference

46001156 Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English  
26 Nov 87 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, Nov 25 The Soviet Prime Minister, Mr Nikolai Ryzhkov, today wound up a successful six-day official visit to India with warm and laudatory references to Indo-USSR friendship, in course of which he said the Soviet Union wholeheartedly supports New Delhi's efforts to solve the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka.

"We appreciate the fact that India and Sri Lanka are working towards normalising the situation in Sri Lanka," Mr Ryzhkov said at a press conference today, adding that the efforts are of importance since they ensure peace and stability in the region. His reiteration of Moscow's support for India's efforts came when he was asked to comment on the attempt being made in certain quarters to internationalise the Sri Lanka issue.

The Soviet Prime Minister handled a wide range of questions with great poise during the one-hour meeting with the press shortly before he left for home. He set at rest any doubts about the current state of Indo-Soviet relations by asserting that on all international problems, the position of the two countries was "close to coincidental." While expressing satisfaction with the results of his substantive talks with Mr Rajiv Gandhi, Mr Ryzhkov described India as a "large world power" and said Indo-Soviet cooperation had entered a "qualitatively new phase."

The Soviet leader largely restated Moscow's known positions on various issues during the press conference, but he made two significant observations in reply to searching questions. First, he indicated that the Soviet Union did not mind India's enhanced efforts at defence cooperation with the United States. "This is for India to decide. India is a sovereign country and it can decide with which country it wants to cooperate in what areas," he said.

Mr Ryzhkov also replied at length to a question on the current controversy in the Soviet Union about social and economic changes and the reported sacking of the Moscow CPSU chief, Mr. Boris Yeltsin. "We intend to persevere with perestroika (restructuring)," he said, asserting that the Soviet Union was aiming for a "socialist democracy," as different from "bourgeois democracy." With a very straight face, the Soviet Prime Minister said Mr Yeltsin has actually been elevated and he now held a post with ministerial rank.

#### Afghanistan

About Afghanistan, Mr Ryzhkov said some very positive trends were emerging in the context of the proposed formation of a coalition government in Kabul. The Soviet Union stood for the withdrawal of a "limited contingent" of Soviet troops provided there was a halt to outside interference. To another question on normalisation of relations between the Soviet Union and China, he said Moscow would not normalise relations at the expense of Vietnam and Kampuchea.

The Soviet leader snubbed a Pakistani correspondent who wanted to know why the Soviet Union and India were out to armtwist Pakistan. "I really don't know if it is vice versa...if it is Pakistan which is using armtwisting against the Soviet Union," he said. To a Western correspondent who referred to the presence of the "Red Army" in Afghanistan, Mr Ryzhkov riposted: "We renamed the Red Army in 1945 as the Soviet Army."

Asked about the ties between the CPSU and the Left parties in India, Mr Ryzhkov said they maintained "normal relations" with both the Indian Communist parties and the Congress(I).

On specific aspects of Indo-Soviet cooperation, Mr Ryzhkov disclosed that India had accepted in principle the Soviet proposal for greater cooperation in the fields of space and frontier technology. The Soviet Union was also hopeful of involving the Indian private sector to tap the potential in bilateral economic and trade cooperation, he said. Towards this, he had received several constructive suggestions from leading members of the Indian private sector at a meeting yesterday, and they would be given a "close look."

#### More on Press Conference

46001156 Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
26 Nov 87 p 1

[Article by K.K. Katyal: "Ryzhkov Sees Identity of Policy Perceptions"]

[Text] New Delhi, Nov 25. The Soviet Prime Minister, Mr. Nikolai Ryzhkov, struck highly positive notes in regard to bilateral relations today at the end of his six-day visit, which was utilised for hard decisions to speed up economic programmes apart from solid political discussions.

India, he told a press conference shortly before his departure, occupied a place of priority in the Soviet foreign policy and his "frank and constructive" discussions with the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, would strengthen bilateral ties further. On major international problems, the positions of India and the Soviet Union were either close or coincidental because of which it was possible for the two countries to work together for world peace and nuclear disarmament.

According to their shared views, security and peace were indivisible and then U.N. Charter needed to be made the instrument for settling regional disputes. He hailed the Six-Nation initiative with which India is associated, spoke of their common perceptions on the new economic order, and reiterated his country's support and appreciation of India's efforts for resolving the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. He noted the progress in the implementation of the Indo-Soviet accords and the recent discussions on new areas of cooperation.

#### Private Sector Role

A new dimension to economic relations will be added as a result of the proposed involvement in it of the Indian private sector. Mr Ryzhkov hoped that an institutional arrangement would be evolved to tap the vast potential in economic and trade cooperation. He was satisfied with his talks with Indian businessmen yesterday and promised to have a close look at their constructive suggestions. 'It should be possible to involve them,' he said.

The proposal for a nuclear power station in India, he said in reply to a question, had been under consideration and the stage had been reached now for practical discussions.

The subjects which figured at the press conference covered a wide range—Soviet Union's relations with the U.S. and China, Afghanistan, Pakistan's nuclear programme, Moscow's attitude to Indian communists, apart, of course, from the diverse aspects of bilateral relations.

### Ties With China

It was clear from his replies that the bid for a rapprochement between the Soviet Union and China had reached a delicate stage. The efforts for normalising political relations, he said, were to be based on reciprocity and not at "the expense of our friends like Vietnam and Kampuchea." According to him, there was no "dynamic development on the party-to-party line. Let us see." However, Mr. Ryzhkov reported progress in trade and economic relations. The Soviet Union, he said, stood for friendly and good-neighbourly relations with China and was pursuing this policy.

On Afghanistan, he reiterated the known stand—that the Soviet Union favoured a peaceful political settlement and would withdraw its limited contingent provided the outside interference ended. The present leadership in Afghanistan, he noted, had gone ahead with steps for a coalition of not only of the ruling parties but also of other groups in a multi-party set-up with the President being "above political parties." Asked about the Pakistani role, Mr. Ryzhkov said: "We still are optimistic about a political settlement. What is Pakistan doing to settle it?"

Apart from the substantive points, what stood out in the hour-long press conference was the business-like and the unemotional way he fielded the questions. He was not provoked into raising his voice over inconvenient questions nor was he amused by light, even naughty, preambles to questions. Was the present trend in the Soviet Union not the same thing as the "socialism with a human face" advocated by Mr. Dubcek (the Czech leader who had to quit the seat of power in the late Sixties when he called for changes in the system? There was no parallel between the two, he said, in a matter-of-fact reply. The state of affairs in the Soviet society enabled them to develop socialist democracy, but they had no intention, he added, of developing a bourgeoisie society.

Another correspondent asked whether his address to Indian businessmen was not the case of a "talk on eroticism to a gathering of monks." Mr. Ryzhkov's reply was: He had not heard of this proverb, but his meeting with business representatives was good.

Once or twice, he appeared to have been let down by the translator. For instance, a Pakistani correspondent sought his comment on the view of some that the Soviet Union and India had been indulging in arm-twisting of Pakistan. Obviously getting the question wrong, he said neither Pakistan was twisting the Soviet Union's arms nor the Soviet Union, Pakistan's. At another stage, he was asked about the Soviet view of the latest phase of Indo-U.S. relations, but, in reply, he dealt with the Soviet-U.S. relations. However, he got the second part of the question right—What did he think of Indo-U.S.

cooperation in the field of defence? This, he said, was for India to decide. As a sovereign nation, India had to decide with which country to cooperate and in which field.

### No Interference

He had no difficulty in tackling a delicate question on Moscow's relations with Indian communists. His country, he said, had good, normal party-to-party relations with the three organisations—the two communist parties and the Congress(I), whose representatives attended the Moscow celebration of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution. "Our discussions with them showed that they take a positive view of Indo-Soviet relations. The domestic issues were an internal affair. It is not for us to interfere or pass judgment. It is for them (to decide)," he added.

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**USSR Representative on Soviet-Indian Trade**  
*46001146 New Delhi PATRIOT in English*  
29 Nov 87 p 11

[Article by I.I. Semenov, Trade representative of the USSR in India]

[Excerpt] Soviet-Indian trade is not a mere exchange of goods. Rights from the fifties, it has been linked with India's planning, industrial, and agricultural development and, above all, has served the objective of India's economic independence.

Indo-Soviet trade has two distinct features: it is based on 5-year trade agreements, giving it a long-term perspective, introducing elements of planning. Annual trade plans allowed flexibility in determining items to be exchanged according to the possibilities of both the countries. It is based on the "rupee payment system," avoiding the constraints on trade growth, which would have become inevitable if payments were made in an international currency. The "rupee payment system" enables India to buy goods for rupees at a time when it had only limited foreign exchange resources. It also helped India to keep its debt profile within manageable limits and to reduce exchange instability.

There were other factors which helped rapid trade growth. The repayments made by India against Soviet credits were entirely spent by the Soviet Union for purchasing goods from India. The development of a joint shipping line to serve mutual trade, again on payment in rupees for freight, also helped India to be free from the pressures of shipping cartels, to develop its own merchant marine and to save foreign exchange.

### Fastest Growth

Indo-Soviet trade has seen the fastest growth over the last three decades. It has grown from Rs 17 million in 1953 to Rs 36,000 million in 1986, a remarkable growth by any standards in world practice. This rapid development of trade between the two countries is explained partly by their growing political relations, friendship and understanding. In the last decade, the average annual growth rate has been about 15-16 percent, which was higher than the growth rate of the USSR foreign trade (11 percent) and that of India (13-14 percent). India already ranks first in Soviet trade with the developing countries.

Equitable business cooperation and respect for each other's interests, together with the planned character of our trade, serve as a guarantee of its further growth.

The trade protocol for 1987 has set a target turnover of Rs 3,800 crore (Indian import Rs 1850 crore, export Rs 1950 crore), which represents a growth rate of 5.5 percent over the 1986 figure. The trade turnover for 1986 has been Rs 3,600 crore (Rs 2100 crore Indian exports, Rs 1500 crore Indian import). The new major developments of this year was the fact that in physical terms the mutual supplies of commodities increased in 1986 and new items were added to the list of exchanges. But this positive process was disturbed by the sharp fall in the price of oil, oil products, and fertilizers, which constituted a significant part of Soviet supplies to India.

### New Lines of Thought

At present the two countries are implementing a great task arrived at the summit which took place in November 1986 meeting, i.e., to push further trade turnover by over 2.5 times within the next five years. What are the perspectives of this task to be achieved? And, what new lines of thought have emerged in the meantime to give a boost to Indo-Soviet trade?

It is worth recalling here that the actual realisation of 2.5 times trade growth with 1976-80 was achieved. It is natural that a lot of concern is there on how this target could be met, for it is now recognised that the "traditional" forms of exchanges would not be adequate and that new forms of trade would have to be developed. In fact, this problem has been felt ever since the early eighties. It was with this objective that in 1984 a major Indian exhibition was held in Moscow. Two technical seminars were held, one in India and the other in Moscow. There was a Soviet exhibition devoted to science and technology. In December 1985 a major Soviet exhibition was held in Bombay with emphasis on engineering and technology, in order to acquaint the Indian private sector of Soviet export capabilities. A seminar was also held simultaneously in Bombay. Exhibitions on business information were held in Calcutta, Bangalore, Pune, Madras and Hyderabad and since then this has become a regular practice. The USSR invariably

takes part in the annual India International Trade Fair in Delhi, with special focus on different aspects of Soviet industry. There had been a series of discussions between the Soviet and Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry in the last few years. Delegations of FICCI, ASSOCHAM and CEI had visited the Soviet Union and had made their own assessment of Soviet capabilities in export of machines, equipment and technology. Similarly, GOSPLAN delegations came to India in 1985-87, toured the country extensively and visited over 70 Indian companies in order to evaluate Indian capabilities. And above all, India and the USSR entered into a number of major agreements in 1985-87, one to provide main guidelines of economic and trade cooperation till the end of the century a long-term programme up to 2000 year on production cooperation others include agreements on Soviet credits and assistance, for a number of specific industrial projects. Deferred payment arrangements for commercial deals have been extended for the period 1986-90. And during the visit of the General Secretary of CPSU Central Committee, Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, to India last year a new economic agreement was signed for a period of 15 years to expand cooperation between the two countries. A fresh credit of 1500 million roubles was placed at the disposal of India at this time.

Thus, a great deal has already been accomplished or being done to lay the groundwork for a steep rise in Indo-Soviet trade turnover.

The 11th session of the Indo-Soviet Joint Commission gave considerable importance to production cooperation between the two countries as one of the new effective means to boost the two-way trade.

At present, extensive studies and discussions are taking place between Soviet organisations and the Indian private sector companies to identify the concrete spheres of production cooperation. A number of projects are to be started in the near future.

A new line of cooperation between the USSR and the Indian private sector will be in setting up some projects in the USSR by the latter. To begin with, three hotels are to be put up by Indian parties at Tashkent, Bukhara and Samarkhand in the USSR. There are prospects for industrial joint ventures too.

The prospect of Indo-Soviet trade must also be seen against the development of the Soviet economy in the coming years. The Soviet Union seeks to double production by the end of the century, with emphasis on restructuring the economy, modernisation of plants and intensification of the application of science and technology. It is also planned to raise the standard of living of the Soviet people to new heights. In fact, in a few years we are planning to saturate the market with a sufficiency of goods.

In the meantime, Soviet foreign trade organisations are geared in a new way to allow them greater flexibility in their dealings with foreign countries.

Though Indo-Soviet trade today does not directly depend on the level of economic cooperation between the two countries, as was the case before, there is no doubt that it continues to have an impact on trade growth. In the 60s and 70s, machines and equipment accounted for more than 50 percent of Soviet exports to India in view of the growing tempo of India's industrialisation. However, by the 80s the share of machines and equipment in Soviet exports fell to an average of 15 percent during 1981-85. In 1985 it rose to 29 percent and in 1986 up to 36 percent.

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**Soviet Official Examines Outlook for Cooperation**  
*46001157a New Delhi PATRIOT (Supplement) in English 21 Nov 87 p 5*

[Article by G.V. Dmitrenko, acting Counsellor for Economic Affairs, USSR Embassy]

[Text] Soviet-Indian economic and technical cooperation is a major component of a broad complex of friendly relations, historically developed between both our countries and peoples.

The whole process of development of our cooperation, our significant mutual experience acquired during more than three decades, can serve as a convincing example and a model of establishing fruitful and effective economic ties between states with different social systems.

The constructive character of this approach towards cooperation between our countries has proved its viability and has been thoroughly time-tested.

Soviet-Indian economic cooperation covers practically all the key branches of Indian industry—metallurgy, oil production, oil refining, power, coal mining, machine-building—which form the necessary basis for further strengthening and growth of independent Indian economy.

Large scale enterprises, created as a result of our fruitful economic cooperation—Bhilai and Bokaro Steel Plants, Korba aluminium plant, machine-building plants in Ranchi, Durgapur and Hardwar, etc., are widely known in India as well as in the Soviet Union.

Recently the construction of a new steel plant in Visakhapatnam, super thermal power station at Vindhyachal and large open-cast and underground coal mines have been started. The assistance rendered by the Soviet organisations in integrated survey for hydrocarbons in West Bengal, the Cauvery and North Cambay basins and in workover or idle and low production wells of Gujarat is developing rapidly.

Besides these projects, a new thermal power station "Kahalgaoon," and also some other important projects are envisaged.

Taking into account the national interests of friendly India, the Soviet Union always had in mind that the assistance rendered by it, was directed at the implementation of the primary economic and social problems facing the country.

The Soviet people are proud of the fact that during the difficult period of Indian development when its national economy was in process of construction, our country rendered fraternal assistance to the friendly people of India.

At the dawn of the independence era among the most important socio-economic tasks which had to be achieved by India were the creation of the necessary basis for the development of heavy industry, construction of adequate infrastructure, the speedy solving of a very acute food problem, training of national technical and management personnel, etc. In a relatively short span of time India has managed to fulfil successfully all these important and complicated tasks, to uplift the level of its economic development, to carry out major social reforms.

The achieved level of socio-economic development and the requirements for the further growth of modern Indian economy set forth some new important tasks for the Soviet-Indian economic and technical cooperation.

Along with the construction of new projects, great importance at this stage of cooperation is attached to modernisation and reconstruction of existing enterprises, improvement of their production and financial performance.

With this in view, Soviet and Indian specialists have elaborated a complex of measures to increase efficiency of the operation of Bhilai and Bokaro Steel Plants. It is also planned to modernise the Heavy Machine Building Plant in Ranchi and Mining Equipment Plant in Durgapur.

At the present stage, cooperation of Soviet and Indian organisations in the development and updating of the scientific research base of a number of industries of Indian economy, and, first of all, ferrous metallurgy, coal and petroleum industries is becoming of great importance. Thus, for example, an extensive programme in the field of developing and updating steel production techniques and improving quality of production is implemented by the Research and Development Centre for Iron and Steel of SAIL in Ranchi with the assistance of Soviet scientists and experts.

Long-standing practice of Soviet equipment operation in India, indicated convincingly that it not only fully meets the present techno-economic parameters but also possesses considerable margin of service life, reliability and efficiency. Operational reserves inherent in the Soviet equipment allow without making essential extra investment to enhance the output, to expand its range and to set up manufacture of new items, to improve techno-economic level of production.

But at the present stage of cooperation it should be taken into account that the considerable part of metallurgical, petroleum, power and other equipment has been in service for many years, its service life has expired, and to maintain its operationability not only spare parts are required, but it is also necessary to implement partial replacement, renovation and modernisation.

We realise that there is a need to improve a system of maintenance and repair of equipment, to set up in India joint service agencies, as well as enterprises producing spare parts. This issue is the most acute in power sector, where the bulk of Soviet equipment has been in operation for more than 15-20 years, though its production loading factor is above Indian average (first of all, we mean "Neyveli" thermal power station).

Soviet organisations are already examining the issue of establishing cooperation with Indian private firms in maintenance, repair and modernisation of the equipment of the power stations constructed in India with Soviet technical assistance. Similar work is underway with Indian firms regarding maintenance of metallurgical and mining equipment, including establishment of spare parts stores.

Production cooperation is one of the important directions of cooperation, that over the last years has been receiving more and more attention from the Soviet and Indian organisations. In this area a certain experience has been already accumulated that proves the fruitfulness and promising potential of establishing close production ties between enterprises of both countries.

The achieved high level of development of Indian industry and in particular of machine-building opens new broad prospects for further expansion and deepening of Soviet-Indian cooperation.

Now-a-days, according to Soviet and Indian specialists, India has already achieved such technological level, that ensures the ever-increasing competitiveness of its engineering products at foreign markets. Therefore, development of production cooperation in the field of machine-building between the USSR and India is beneficial for both countries.

We consider that cooperation in setting up new projects as well as in reconstruction, modernisation and expansion of the operating industrial enterprises and facilities in private and joint sectors of Indian economy should become an important area of cooperation with Indian private firms.

With a view to develop this area of mutual cooperation Soviet organisations are ready to use traditional as well as its new forms, such as consortiums, joint ventures, setting up of export-oriented units in free-trade zones, enterprises and projects on a buy-back basis.

New vistas for the future development of the Soviet-Indian economic and technical cooperation were drawn out in the two major inter governmental agreements signed general Secretary of the CPSU M.S. Gorbachev and Mr. Rajiv Gandhi in Moscow on May 22, 1985.

The agreement on the basic guidelines for economic, trade, scientific and technical cooperation between the USSR and India for the period up to the year 2000 is aimed at the development and strengthening of economic cooperation by ways of joint activities in introduction of advanced technologies, attaining higher levels of production and labour productivity, modernisation and reconstruction of enterprises in mutually agreed areas, training of technical personnel, elaboration of new types of equipment, technological processes and industrial research programmes in power, oil, gas and coal industries, ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, engineering industry, etc.

Since then India and the USSR have signed a long-term programme of cooperation in science and technology for 15 years which will have far-reaching significance for the scientific development of India.

The agreement on economic and technical cooperation between the USSR and India, signed on November 27, 1986 during the visit to India of General Secretary of the CPSU M.S. Gorbachev envisages construction of hydro-power complex "Tehri," reconstruction and modernisation of two steel melting shops with construction of continuous casting departments and modernisation of "2000" mill at Bokaro Steel Plant, construction of four underground mines with the total capacity of 8 million tonnes of Coking Coal a year, conducting integrated survey for hydrocarbons in mutually agreed area on shore in West Bengal.

The new long-term Soviet-Indian intergovernmental agreements demonstrate once again that economic and technical cooperation between our countries will continue to develop in future on a stable and regular basis. Planned for a long-term perspective, these agreements reflect in full measure continuous search and development of new forms and directions, inherent in our cooperation, its dynamic and creative character.

**PRC Prime Minister Sends 'Warm' Message to Gandhi**

46001145 Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
29 Nov 87 p 2

[Article by K.K. Katyal]

[Text] New Delhi, Nov 28. The Chinese Prime Minister, Mr Zhao Ziyang, had sent a warm personal message to Mr. Rajiv Gandhi during the recent official-level talks between the two countries.

The message was conveyed by Mr. Liu Shiging, Vice-Foreign Minister, head of the Chinese delegation, when he called on Mr. Rajiv Gandhi along with the Chinese Ambassador here, Mr Tu Gouwei.

It was this message which contained the invitation to Mr. Gandhi to pay a visit to China. Mr. Zhao Ziyang also recalled his meeting with the Prime Minister in New York in 1985 and expressed confidence about improvement in Sino-Indian relations.

As was known, Mr. Gandhi's was not a pro forma response—while saying that he would be glad to contribute to the development of bilateral relations. Mr Gandhi spoke of the need for preparatory work.

Appropriate response: The message fitted in with the positive, forward-looking atmosphere in which the Chinese delegation and the Indian officials, led by the Foreign Secretary, Mr K.P.S. Menon, held talks for three days. The third day's session was fixed at the instance of the Chinese side which wanted it to be devoted to a review of the international situation.

The two delegations did not discuss specifically plans for raising the level of the talks from the official to the political level—a point agreed upon during the visit to Beijing in June of Mr. N.D. Tiwari, the then External Affairs Minister—but dwelt at length on ways of promoting contacts in the sphere of sports and culture and augmenting trade. The ideas mooted during the talks are proposed to be pursued through diplomatic channels.

Early follow-up action is also certain on the proposal for opening consulates in the two countries—by India in Shanghai and by China in Bombay or Calcutta.

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**Positive New Phase in Relations With PRC**

46001157b Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
21 Nov 87 p 9

[Article by N. Ram]

[Text] New Delhi, Nov 20. "Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi will be very warmly welcomed in China" if he responds to the renewed and sincerely pressed invitation with an official visit, an authoritative Chinese source

told *THE HINDU* in the wake of the eighth round of official-level talks. This was in response to a question whether a high-level political, and perhaps even a Prime Ministerial, visit to China was on the near-term agenda. The source noted with appreciation that India's Prime Minister was "very willing to solve" the longstanding boundary problem and was also "very eager to make contributions" to the development of overall Sino-Indian relations.

The well-informed Chinese source noted that the boundary question was a complicated problem that could be resolved on the basis of "mutual understanding and mutual accommodation." While the two sides shared the intention and the desire to settle it at an early date, there was a realistic recognition that the task might require time and patience. Meanwhile, it has been emphasised that peace and tranquillity would be maintained along the entire Sino-Indian boundary. The source stressed that "we should adopt an attitude of optimism" on the entire range of Sino-Indian relations, including the boundary question, and characterised the atmosphere of the eighth round of official-level talks (in New Delhi) as "good."

**Positive Assessment**

This somewhat upbeat, or at least positive, assessment—which contrasts with the mood of mid-1986 to mid-1987, that was turned round after the two Cabinet-level "transit visits" to Beijing earlier this year—is clearly shared on the Indian side. The positive significance of the results of the New Delhi round of talks can be understood not in terms of any concrete and measurable progress in the matter of working out principles for resolving the border problem in its entirety, and not even in terms of unambiguously tackling the problem of the rather close positioning of Chinese and Indian armed forces in sections of the eastern sector of the boundary, specifically in the Tawang area.

The indications of progress, which are expected to be firmed up in the near future, are in the political aspect of the emerging equation. The willingness to upgrade the contacts and the dialogue to a senior political level—the "transit visit" to Beijing in June by Mr. N.D. Tiwari, then Minister for External Affairs—represents a fresh position arrived at on the Indian side. It seems to express a fairly new reading of the character and potentialities of the Sino-Indian relationship in changed contexts, domestic as well as international, for both countries. But it also means, possibly, a move away from the inhibitions and the rigidity which influenced Indian attitudes to relations with China in the earlier period.

When Mr. Liu Shuqing, the leader of the Chinese delegation renewed on behalf of his country's top leaders the invitation to the Prime Minister to visit China, Mr Rajiv Gandhi is reported to have responded in a qualified but positive way. This was to the effect that of course, he would like to come to China; but let both sides attend to



the task of developing the bilateral relationship and resolving the problems and let the appropriate climate be created (with a clear awareness of what could be achieved), so that at a suitable time, organising the visit could be considered more seriously.

#### Upgraded Contacts

At a minimum, the current approach to the bilateral relationship is based on the understanding that nothing can be lost. But it seems to be more than that. The earlier insistence by New Delhi on treating the boundary problem as the central factor in determining the quality and pace of bilateral ties interacted uneasily with the Chinese preference for upgrading the contacts and the dialogue on the range of the relationship to a political level and going about improving the ties without letting the boundary dispute retard progress. In February 1979, Mr. Deng Xiaoping, the top Chinese leader, told a group of Indian journalists that "we do have some issues on which we are far apart. We should put those on the side for the moment and do some actual work to improve the climate to go about the problem." Official India did not find itself comfortable to the language and emotive implications of "setting aside" the boundary problem and subsequently the Chinese did not press this point.

The current approach, agreed upon by the two sides, has been formulated in the following terms: The work of improving and developing bilateral relations in all fields, including political contacts, trade, science and technology, culture and so on, will be taken up simultaneously with the effort to make progress in resolving the boundary question. In this positive context, both sides are firmly committed to the proposition of maintaining "peace and tranquillity" on the long border. (And, by implication, especially in the problem areas in the eastern sector).

#### Pre-requisites

The new awareness which could prove a dynamic factor in Indian foreign policy if the current indications are firmed up—seems to proceed along the following lines. If India was going to graduate or fine-tune progress in Sino-Indian relations with progress on the complicated and challenging border problem, it would imply that very specific proposals and negotiating methodologies were in hand, not to mention the necessary domestic political consensus that must back up the Government's endeavour. But if these pre-requisites for making substantive progress were not present, or would not be easy to create, then what was the merit in the linking and fine-tuning exercise—especially when the advantages of developing a better Sino-Indian equation were becoming apparent to a growing number of Indians who do not evidently share the prejudices and hang-ups of the past?

#### Ministry Says Rabi Crop Unlikely To Reach Target

46001152a Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English  
1 Dec 87 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, Nov 30. Inadequate rains, gradual drying up of reservoirs coupled with further lowering of the water table have weakened the rabi prospects, making it almost impossible to achieve the targeted 70 million tonnes.

Together with the expected kharif shortfall of 15 million tonnes the combined loss will be around 20 million tonnes against the targeted output in 160 million tonnes.

The rabi crop, of which wheat accounts for 73 per cent, might show a down turn by five million tonnes according to official sources. The Union agriculture ministry is awaiting reports from different state governments for a final assessment of the kharif loss.

An analysis by the ministry on the prospects of the rabi crop says, "Under the prevailing conditions, it does not seem possible to achieve this target unless all out efforts are made and the subsequent weather conditions also remain normal." Since winter rains have not been good so far, the shortfall is almost certain to increase, official sources said.

The wheat target for rabi is slightly over 50 million tonnes and that of rice is five million tonnes. The analysis says that wheat production might come down to 44 million tonnes if the present winter raintrend continues. This figure is about five million tonnes less than in 1985-86 when favourable winter rains had come up to rescue of farmers after an erratic monsoon.

The government fear of a shortfall in wheat is compounded with the fact that water availability in 18 million hectares of the traditional irrigated wheat zone might not be adequate this time because of the lowering of the water table. In another five million hectares, where crop prospects mainly depend on rain water, the farmers might abandon cultivation leading to a shrinkage in the usual wheat zone.

The record production in 1985-86 was possible because of favourable winter rains coupled with enriched farm inputs. The per hectare wheat production recorded an all time high at 2,032 kg taking into consideration the possible shrinkage in wheat area this year, the target can be achieved only if the per hectare production goes up to an almost impossible 2,174 kg.

Despite the grim assessment, the Centre wants state governments to take maximum care to ensure that rabi targets are achieved. There is also the possibility of the government hiking its wheat target to 54 million tonnes though it is yet to define how the higher target will be realised.

The government is not very optimistic of achieving the target with reservoirs supplying water to wheat fields gradually drying up. Only four of the important reservoirs are said to have water up to 70 per cent of their capacity. Tubewells, too, are not functioning properly because of inadequate power supply in rural areas.

Reports from Rajasthan, Gujrat and Madhya Pradesh suggest that surface water resources have gone below the level at which they are normally exploited. These three states along with Punjab, Haryana and Uttar Pradesh and Bihar are the wheat growing areas.

08309

**Nadkarni Takes Over as New Chief of Naval Staff**  
*460001151a New Delhi PATRIOT in English*  
30 Nov 87 p 5

[Text] Vice Admiral J.G. Nadkarni, Vice Chief of the Naval Staff, will take over as the Chief of Naval Staff in the rank of admiral from Admiral R.H. Tahiliani on Monday, reports UNI.

The flag of Admiral Nadkarni will be hoisted at colours on Monday on INS Ganga, the indigenously built and designed guided missile frigate and will be shifted to INS India, the naval establishment in New Delhi on 1 December Admiral Tahiliani's flag will be struck at sunset.

Admiral Nadkarni, who was born on 5 December, 1931, joined the Indian mercantile marine training ship "Defferin" in 1946 and graduated two years later.

He joined the Royal Indian Navy in March 1949 and received his initial training on aircraft carriers and destroyers in Britain.

He returned to India as the commissioning crew of the hunt class destroyer INS Ganga. Admiral Nadkarni was also navigating officer of the cruiser INS Delhi and commanded naval ships Talwar and Delhi.

His important shore appointments include chief instructor of defence services staff college at Wellington, the chief of staff of Western Naval Command and the senior directing staff of the National Defence College.

Admiral Nadkarni commanded the western fleet from May 1981 to August 1982 after he was promoted to the rank of rear admiral in December 1980.

He was promoted to the rank of vice admiral in August 1982 and was appointed chief of personnel at naval headquarters until April 1984 and flag officer commanding-in-chief Eastern Naval Command until February 1986, when he took over as the Vice Chief of Naval Staff at Naval headquarters.

A graduate of the Defence Services Staff College, Wellington and Naval War College in the United States, Admiral Nadkarni is a recipient of the Param Vishist Seva Medal, Ati Vishist distinguished services of an exceptionally high order.

08309

**Chief of Naval Staff Says Nuclear-Powered Sub Likely**  
*46001142b Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English*  
26 Nov 87 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, Nov 25. The Indian Navy is "thinking" of acquiring nuclear-propelled submarines, according to Admiral R.H. Tahiliani, chief of the naval staff.

Admiral Tahiliani did not elaborate on this, but it is understood that negotiations with the Soviet Union have already gone on for some time and the initial training of personnel has been conducted.

In an informal chat with defence correspondents today, Admiral Tahiliani, who is retiring on Monday, denied press reports that India had already acquired nuclear-powered submarines.

The navy chief, who saw through expansion and modernisation of the force during his tenure, also announced that the government had cleared the proposal for building the fifth and sixth HDW submarines at Mazagon dock with improved propulsion and electronics packages.

The first two such submarines built by the West German yard have already joined the Indian fleet and the next two are being built at Mazagon where a special production line has been set up. Earlier, some uncertainty had surrounded the plans for building the fifth and sixth such SSK submarines.

Admiral Tahiliani said the advanced type-15 frigate, based on indigenous design, would join service by 1994. This would follow the Godavari class guided missile frigates which were as good as any similar vessels in the world. These were also designed by India naval engineers.

Initially, the type-15 frigates would have a Soviet propulsion system but the latter models would have the sophisticated American gas turbine engines which would be made in India.

It had also been decided to build the third aircraft carrier in the country and the initial work had been started in Cochin. The aircraft carrier might be commissioned in 1997, the golden jubilee year of independence.

The long-term plans of the navy included the establishment of a new base at Karwar which, when completed, would be the largest naval complex in Asia. The new naval academy at Ezhimala was coming up as a centre for training all officers.

Admiral Tahiliani said the naval dockyards in Bombay and Visakhapatnam were being modernised to enable them to maintain the new ships being inducted into service.

On the threat posed by Pakistan's acquisition of harpoon missiles from the U.S., Admiral Tahiliani said it would be met through tactics since it was not possible to match every weapon with a similar weapon. It is understood that India's options in acquiring submarine-launched missiles are limited and the Soviets have not offered any comparable system as yet.

08309

**Janata Party National Executive Meets 25 Nov**  
46001142a Janata *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English  
26 Nov 87 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, Nov 25. The Janata Party national executive concluded its meeting here yesterday by opting for agitational unity of the opposition parties as opposed to organisational unity.

It virtually capitulated on the issue of disciplining Mr Kalayan Singh Kalvi for his support to the Deorala sati episode by letting him get away with a mere excuse for an apology.

The party executive also passed a resolution condemning the "repressive actions of the government" against the Indian Express as well as resolution on the international situation.

The political resolution passed by it sought to transform the efforts towards opposition unity to a more pragmatic struggle on specific issues with likeminded parties.

The half-a-dozen issues identified for united action were virtually the same as those identified at the opposition conclave at Surajkund earlier. These ranged from the issue of remunerative prices for farmers, corruption in high places, electoral reforms and unemployment to the issue of rising prices of essential commodities. It was decided that "there were no untouchables" as far as issue-based agitations were concerned.

#### Broad Front

It was decided that immediate action on the agreed issues would be taken along with the Jan Morcha, as the party had no differences with it. Simultaneously, an attempt would be made to work towards a consolidation of the opposition groupings into a broad front.

Indeed, if there was unity about any issue in the national executive it was on the party's approach to the Jan Morcha. A member of the executive apparently even went to the extent of saying: "If Mr V.P. Singh did not exist today we would have to invent him."

Mr Singh was described as "the man of the hour." Another member of the executive described the mood of the national executive later by saying "it seemed that the heart of the party was V.P. Singh while the body was Chandrasekhar."

However, the party executive did not take any decision on the question of Janata Party members becoming conveners of the Jan Morcha. It was decided to work only on the basis of organisational co-operation at present.

Mr Kalvi, who had so agitated the party's parliamentary leader, Mr Madhu Dandavate, that the latter had threatened that both of them could not remain in the same party, played the role of a much misunderstood man successfully and was allowed to remain in the party with only a mild reprimand.

He made a statement, which was accepted by the party, claiming that his stand on sati had been "misunderstood" by the party.

On the Indian Express issue, the resolution urged "all those who cherish the values of freedom and democracy" to recognise that the threat to the newspaper was "an integral part of the wider problem of encroachment on the freedom of the press" and asked them "to strive ceaselessly for the preservation and protection of this freedom."

08309

**India, Brazil Agree To Set Up Joint Ventures**  
46001138 New Delhi *PATRIOT* in English  
26 Nov 87 p 9

[Text] The Brazil-India Chambers of Commerce and industry and FICCI have agreed to take steps to establish joint ventures to manufacture in India high technology products in informatics, electronic equipment and telecommunications and other industrial sectors, reports PTI.

The joint ventures would be with a view to tapping the East European markets at competitive prices, considering the excellent relations between India and the socialist block countries, according to a Brazilian embassy release.

The two organisations have also agreed to take all necessary measures to speed up the mechanisms in their respective countries for the establishment of counter-trade operations.

They have also agreed to create joint ventures in the area of export of engineering services aiming primarily at participation in projects in Latin America, African and Middle East countries, associating Indian technology and marketing capabilities with Brazilian industrial capabilities.

The two sides during the talks took note of the severe imbalance of trade between the two countries, which was in the proportion of 100 against one in favour of Brazil.

A memorandum of understanding signed by Mr D H Pai Panandiker, secretary general of FICCI and Mr Roberto Nobrega, executive vice-president of Brazil-India Chambers of Commerce agreed to activate the Indo-Brazilian Joint Business Council.

They also undertook to take up with their respective governments the question of direct air links between India and Brazil and participation in each others trade fairs.

The Brazil-India Chambers of Commerce has agreed to give priority to the purchase of Indian products by Brazilian companies by working for reduction and elimination of the 180-day freeze on the payments of imports, currently being asked by the Department of Foreign Commerce of the State Bank of Brazil.

It was also agreed that technical cooperation in agricultural and irrigation fields, areas in which India has much to offer, would be increased.

The Indian side would endeavour to increase the supply of non-ferrous chemical products and pharmaceutical raw materials to Brazil.

The two organisations would also work for subsidising the costs of air transportation in order to stimulate a greater exchange of commercial delegations, in particular of medium and small enterprises.

08309

**Pact for Increased Trade With Romania Signed**  
46001149b Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English  
29 Nov 87 p 10

[Text] New Delhi, November 28 (PTI): India and Romania have signed a trade agreement for 1988 under which the trade between the two countries is targetted to reach Rs 740 crore, having an eight per cent increase over the 1987 figure.

The agreement was signed by Mr B.K. Chaturvedi, joint secretary (East Europe) in the commerce ministry, and Mr Ion Minculete, deputy general manager of the ministry of foreign trade and international economic cooperation of Romania, here on Friday.

Mr Minculete is leader of the Romanian delegation which came here on November 25, according to an official release.

Under the agreement, exports from India to Romania are targetted at Rs 370 crore, and imports from that country also at Rs 370 crore, thus balancing the bilateral trade.

During 1988, India would import from Romania mainly goods, machinery and equipment, textile machinery, railway equipment, machine tools, ball roller and taper bearings castings, pipes and turbines and newsprint, and it would export to that country iron ore, extractions, coffee, tea, soyabean meal, manganese ore, bauxite, finished leather, cotton textiles, graphite electrodes and crucibles.

Between January and September this year, exports from India to Romania were estimated at Rs 58.8 crore, while imports from the east European country are Rs 54.8 crore. However, when contracting for items like iron ore, extractions, etc., for 1987 were fulfilled, the actual turnover for this year would be satisfactory, the release said.

08309

**Swedish Memo to India INsures Bofors Supplies**  
46001137 Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
25 Nov 87 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, Nov 23—An indication of the tremendous importance attached by the Government of Sweden to the sale of the Bofors 155 mm howitzers is that it has extended several assurances and guarantees to the Indian Government, including a promise that in the event of any deficiencies or shortfalls in the implementation of the deal with Bofors, it will have these promptly made good from its own national resources.

The Swedish Government, in a Memorandum Of Understanding signed with the Indian Government on March 24, 1986—the same day that the Bofors contract was signed—has stated that it will ensure within its constitutional powers that AB Bofors shall fulfil all its obligations in respect of the total programme contracted with the Government of India.

The MOU goes on to say that the Swedish Government will particularly ensure that in the event of delays and defaults by AB Bofors in the implementation of the total programme, the shortfalls and deficiencies will be promptly made good from the Swedish national resources.

Sweden, which is known to have a restrictive policy on the export of arms to other countries, has affirmed that the ordinary general conditional impediments to exports of military equipment and transfers of technology as set out in two Bills passed by the Swedish Parliament in 1971 and 1982 do not apply to such a cooperative

agreement on the development, supply and production of military equipment as was being envisaged with India. Therefore these general conditional impediments are not relevant and are not applicable to the total programme contracted with the Indian Government.

The Swedish Government has also affirmed that Bofors has secured valid offers from all equipment suppliers of non-Swedish origin and furthermore that all such suppliers have previously secured assurances from their respective Governments and that India has been approved as an end-user when making these deliveries to Bofors.

Significantly, the Swedish Government has, in this MOU, also undertaken to guarantee that in the event of a non-Swedish supplier in any way defaulting in supplies, the Swedish Government will ensure through alternative non-Swedish suppliers and/or from Swedish national resources that the total programme with the Government of India will be fulfilled as agreed.

The Swedish Government also affirmed that it would positively facilitate the supplies and/or transfers to the Government of India and AB Bofors of hardware, technology, spare parts, components, information, documentation, training and such other assistance in relation thereto as may be needed from time to time, in respect of further development and technological improvements of the Field Howitzer system. The Indian Government in turn has agreed to positively facilitate correspondingly as agreed in the total programme, the further development and technological improvements in the Field Howitzer system which may take place in India.

The MOU mentions the Swedish Government as having made definite arrangements for credit from appropriate agencies in Sweden both for the supply of the gun system and components and for their production in India. The reference is to the two credit agreements signed by the Indian Government with Svenskexportkredit to make available to India a credit facility for the financing of 80 per cent of the invoice value of the relevant deliveries. One agreement related to the purchase aspect of the Bofors contract and arranged for a credit of SEK 2,798,450,918 along with Deutschemarks of the value of SEK 3,930,077,870. This amount would represent 80 per cent of the total contract value—SEK 8,410,660,984. A separate credit agreement relating to the licensed production aspect of the contract was concluded for a smaller amount of SEK 575,000,000 and Deutschemarks of the value of SEK 425,000,000.

Apparently providing the scope for counter-purchasing by Sweden, the MOU states that it shall be the endeavour of the Swedish Government to encourage the appropriate agencies in Sweden to increase trade with India and it will in consequence thereof extend its cooperation to AB Bofors to ensure the success of its undertakings.

The Government of Sweden will also ensure facilities for testing and training in Sweden as agreed to in the total programme at Government institutions and defence establishments. The two Governments have agreed to provide for joint consultations between the staffs of the respective armed forces on matters to be determined by them and which are of relevance to the MOU.

A Cooperation Agreement was also signed between the Indian Government and AB Bofors providing for the exchange of information between the Ministry of Defence and Bofors on further development of and the improvement to sub-systems/units included in the complete 155 mm howitzer FH 77 gun, vehicles, ammunition, connected and support equipment. This clearly provides scope for long-term cooperation extending beyond the transfer of technology and the start of indigenised production of this gun system. There is to be an informational exchange on improvements of production methods, quality assurance and quality assurance methods and systems.

The results of the cooperation and exchange of information is to be reported to the Swedish Government by Bofors at least once a year and the Indian army and the Swedish army may consult each other under this programme without any demur on the part of AB Bofors which may be communicated the result of such consultation.

According to details on the break-up of the cost of the entire contract, the 400 guns cost SEK 2,923,805,676, the 460 towing and 200 ammunition vehicles together amount to SEK 574,257,971, the ammunition—SEK 4,336,390,000 and the fire control equipment SEK 546,207,337. Two types of ammunition vehicles and 18 types of ammunition have been provided for in this contract.

08309

#### **Supreme Court Strikes Down Section of Antisati Act**

46001153 Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English  
2 Dec 87 p 1

[Text] Jaipur, Dec 1—Rajasthan High Court today struck down Section 19 of the Rajasthan Sati (Prevention) Act, 1987, which provided for glorification of old satis, holding it as "discriminatory derogatory to women," report PTI and UNI. In addition, the court ordered the release of the arrested pro-sati leaders in the State and quashing of proceedings against them in the special court set up under the Rajasthan Sati (Prevention) Act.

The Division Bench of the court, comprising the acting Chief Justice, Mr Guman Mal Lodha, and Mr Justice Pana Chand Jain, held that Section 19 of the Act was contrary to the articles 13, 14, 21 and 51(A) of the Constitution.

However, the court held that the declaration of this section was unconstitutional and it would not affect other sections of the anti-sati Ordinance and the Act which had already been upheld by the court.

Ordering the immediate release of the petitioners, arrested for glorifying sati by making speeches in a meeting at Jaipur flouting the Jaipur collector's prohibitory order under Section 6(2) of the Ordinance, since replaced by an Act, the court held that the collector's order was not legally valid as it was not published in the official gazette.

#### **'Act's Spirit Killed'**

The court accepted the arguments of Mrs Kapila Hingorani, counsel for the veteran freedom fighter, Mrs Aruna Asaf Ali, that Section 19 of the Act "killed the spirit, aims and objectives of the Act."

The court regretted that even after 40 years of independence, a social structure and social awareness had yet to be developed in consonance with Section 13 of the Constitution to give women their rightful place.

However, the court upheld the definition of glorification, shifting of burden of proof on accused and making the Government servants in the area duty-bound to report any incident of sati.

The court left open the objection raised by Mr Manik Chand Surana, a Janata Party MLA, appearing on behalf of Mr Yadu Nath Singh, that the Act which would come into effect from October 1 this year was void as the criminal law could not be made effective retrospectively under Section 20 of the Constitution.

The court said, "We leave this point undecided." If any problem arose on this matter the court could decide the issue at that time.

It has already upheld the constitutional validity of the anti-sati legislation and State legislature's competency in enacting the anti-sati law.

It has also quashed all contention that sati was a religious practice and was protected through constitutional guarantee to freedom of religion.

#### **'No Sanction'**

The court said Hindu religion did not give any sanction to the practice of sati or widow burning on the husband's funeral pyre. It concluded its judgment stating that its pronouncement was not against any religion, caste or community.

While releasing the petitioners, arrested under provisions of the anti-sati Ordinance, and by accepting habeas corpus petitions on technical grounds, the court also made it clear that the petitioners should not feel that they had been allowed to glorify the evil practice of sati.

Dictating the judgment, Mr Justice Lodha said the anti-sati legislation was a "revolutionary and progressive legislation" for providing a protective umbrella for women against the barbaric practice.

#### **Writ Pleas Admitted**

A Legal Correspondent adds from New Delhi: The Supreme Court today admitted two writ petitions challenging worship and glorification of sati.

The court also issued notice on the application seeking transfer of similar petitions pending before the Rajasthan High Court to the Supreme Court. The applications for stay were not pressed.

The Joint Action Committee Against Sati and 25 women's organizations and other associations have challenged Section 19 of the Rajasthan Sati (Prevention) Ordinance, 1987 as violative of Articles 14, 21, 25 and 26 of the Constitution of India. The clause also violates Articles 37, 38, 39 and 51A of the Constitution, they said. The provision was also against Sections 306 and 309 of the Indian Penal Code, the petition said.

08309

#### **Reportage on Outcome of Sino-Indian Border Talks**

##### **Foreign Office Statement**

46001154 Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
18 Nov 87 p 1

[Article by K.K. Katyal]

[Text] New Delhi, Nov 17. The officials of India and China today concluded their eighth round of talks on a note of cordiality which might not have brought the settlement of the vexed boundary issue any nearer but which did create a climate for further friendly contacts—perhaps at the political level.

According to a statement by the Foreign Office spokesman, both sides reaffirmed their desire to continue efforts for a peaceful negotiated settlement of the boundary question. Of immediate relevance was their resolve to maintain peace and tranquillity all along the border till their differences were sorted out. Obviously, they had in mind the type of situation that arose in 1986 in Sumodorong Chu Valley which spoiled the atmosphere on the eve of the last round of talks when each country complained of intrusion into its territory by the troops of the other. In practice, this may mean increased frequency of flag meetings in sensitive areas.

Though silent on specifics, the statement exuded feelings of trust, friendship and warmth.

The proposal for upgrading the talks to the political level was discussed in June by Mr. N.D. Tewari, then Minister for External Affairs, during his visit to Beijing. The reaction of his hosts was positive but the plan for scheduling a meeting between the senior Ministers, before the official talks, did not materialise then. It is certain to be pursued now in all seriousness.

In the past, the officials took up the boundary issue on a sector-by-sector basis, but discussions this time were believed to have covered the problem in its entirety. Whether the two sides went beyond a re-statement of their respective positions was not clear.

Trying to build trust: During the three-day talks, India stressed its intention to reconstruct its relations with China to build a climate of trust and cooperation. China reciprocated these sentiments, saying it attached importance to development of friendly relations with India.

The Indian delegation was led by Mr K.P.S. Menon, Foreign Secretary, and the Chinese team by Mr. Liu Shuqing, Vice-Foreign Minister. The Chinese delegation called on the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi. Yesterday, they had met the Minister of State for External Affairs, Mr Natwar Singh.

The spokesman declined to elaborate the carefully-worded statement despite persistent queries by correspondents. He, however, made a general point—"It was our feeling that the atmosphere has been created for further development of relations in all fields and for the settlement of differences."

Cordial atmosphere: The statement said: "The talks were held in a positive, cordial and friendly atmosphere. Discussions took place on various aspects of bilateral relations, including the boundary question. Both delegations reaffirmed their desire to improve relations in all fields and to continue their efforts to reach a peaceful, negotiated settlement of the India-China boundary question. It was also stressed that pending a negotiated settlement of the boundary question, peace and tranquillity should continue to be maintained all along the border. Both sides agreed to make endeavours to further develop their friendly relations and expressed their optimism about the prospects for the future development of bilateral relations.

Matters of regional concern discussed: "The leader of the Chinese delegation called on the Minister of State for External Affairs, Mr Natwar Singh. During the meeting there was a discussion on matters of regional concern."

"It was emphasised during the talks that it is the intention of the Government of India to reconstruct its relations with China and to build a favourable climate of mutual trust and cooperation between the two countries.

Both delegations emphasised that friendly relations between India and China are important and vital for the maintenance of peace in Asia, and that there is much scope for strengthening and diversification of cooperation and interaction between the two countries in several fields. The Chinese delegation also stressed that their Government attaches importance to the development of friendly relations with India and hopes to establish a relationship of friendship and mutual trust with India."

PTI reports:

PM confident of solution: The Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, today expressed confidence that a solution would be found to the boundary dispute with China, but cautioned against "expecting quick and easy solutions."

Addressing officers undergoing a course at the National Defence College here, Mr. Gandhi said the eighth round of official level talks between the two countries, which ended today, proceeded well. "We are making progress," he added.

#### Negotiations 'Back on Rails'

46001154 Madras THE HINDU in English  
19 Nov 87 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, Nov 18. The eighth round of Sino-Indian talks on the border and bilateral issues concluded yesterday on a clear note of optimism. It would be premature to use the word 'breakthrough' for any aspect of the talks, but the mood of both the delegations was relaxed and even somewhat self-satisfied over the outcome.

Essentially the result of the talks can be spoken of as having placed the process of negotiations and peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian dispute, which centres on the border, back on the rails—it may be recalled that some misunderstanding developed in the seventh round in Beijing last year following the publicity given in India with regard to the Chinese establishing a permanent post on the Sumdorong Chu in the Tawang area. Subsequently, both sides beefed up their military deployments on the border and there was talk of war or at least the possibility of skirmishing between the armies of the two Asian giants.

The consequence of all this was that the eighth round of talks was considerably delayed with neither side providing the dates for the talks. A little later, following a Chinese signal at the meeting of the National People's Congress in March, the then External Affairs Minister, Mr. Narain Datt Tiwari, journeyed to Beijing and the decision to hold the talks after the 13th Party Congress of the Chinese Communist Party was taken.

The three-day discussions indicated that the Sumdorong Chu episode and the tensions it generated was a chapter that was behind the two countries. The businesslike approach of the talks, led on the Indian side by the

Foreign Secretary, Mr. K.P.S. Menon, and on the Chinese side by the Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr. Lu Shuqing, focussed on clearing the atmosphere and laying the groundwork for perhaps an accelerated pace of negotiations which will have to involve the political authorities of the two countries in their final phases.

At the talks earlier this week, the Chinese side—which had till May warned of an ‘unpleasant’ situation on the border and asked India repeatedly to pull back from what it considered its part of the Line of Actual Control defining the border—did not raise the issue of the Indian deployments in the Tawang area specifically. They did stress the need for the maintenance of peace and tranquillity on the border which meant that the status quo is largely acceptable to them pending a formal settlement of the border.

### Muted Reaction

The indications are that, following India’s muted reaction to the events in Tibet, Beijing has realised that India is not interested in exploiting its difficulties. This is not an unimportant issue since, in the 1950’s India had, despite recognising Chinese suzerainty over Tibet, permitted the CIA to operate out of the country to launch attacks on the Chinese in Tibet. Considering the overall strategic vulnerability of Tibet from the Indian side, this was an important gesture on the part of India.

However, a notable aspect of the latest discussions was that the Chinese seemed to have accepted the Indian contention, reiterated since the border talks began that the settlement of the border dispute was central to the normalisation of Sino-Indian relations. This, according to some observers, may put the Indian political authorities in a quandary of sorts as it is clear that the situation prevailing today makes it difficult for the Rajiv Government to push through a settlement which will involve some concessions on the Indian side. On the other hand, a Chinese acceptance of the Indian standpoint on the centrality of the border issue will put pressure on India to make a positive appropriate gesture.

### Border Trade

Discussions on other aspects of Sino-Indian relations including closer trade, cultural and scientific-technological ties did not pose any special hurdles, though the issue of border trade which India is keen to resume remained on the backburner in the light of the recent disturbances in Tibet. Exchanges between India and China have a sort of self-limiting system considering the greater attention being paid by the two countries in modernising their economies through ties with the West and the USSR and Eastern Europe. The Chinese side also heard with interest the recent moves made by India in Kampuchea, an area of special concern to China.

The outcome of the 13th Party Congress in Beijing means that the forces which have been favouring a settlement of the issue have remained in the dominating positions of the Chinese political system. This implies that the ball is now firmly in the Indian court and the responsibility for working out a policy or policies towards settlement and initiatives to build a national consensus on the issue rests with Mr Rajiv Gandhi who is even now trying to fight his way out of a thicket of Accords he had planted over the past three years.

### Discussion in Parliament Panel

46001154 New Delhi PATRIOT in English 3 Dec 87 p 1

[Text] India and China have decided, in principle, to upgrade their official level talks on the boundary dispute to political level, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi affirmed at a meeting of the Parliamentary Consultative Committee on External Affairs on Wednesday.

However, the talks between the two countries at political level did not preclude official level discussions to deal with the details of the various issues involved, he clarified to the members, who welcomed the two countries’ intention to upgrade the talks.

Summing up the discussion, which was focussed on Sino-Indian relations, Mr Gandhi stressed that any solution to the India-China boundary issue “should be equitable” not only to the two governments but also to the peoples of the two countries.

Both sides should therefore strive to see that the right atmosphere was created for working towards a just solution to the border problem, Mr Gandhi said.

The Prime Minister did not expect an “instant” solution to the border issue. Given the past history of Sino-Indian relations and the complexity of the issues involved, there could obviously be no instant solution, he added.

The Prime Minister responded favourably to a suggestion from Mr Chitta Basu (Forward Bloc) and some other members for a “national consensus” on the border settlement with China and normalisation of bilateral relations.

At the 90-minute meeting, several members quizzed the Government and wanted the problems in resolving the border issue to be spelt out. While several members cautioned the Government against “diluting” the border issue, which they maintained was central to Sino-Indian relations, by expanding ties in economic, commercial and cultural fields, some stressed that the Government should not take a “conciliatory” stand on the boundary.



On behalf of the Government it was conveyed to the members that there was nothing to indicate that the Chinese were keen on a border settlement on a "give-and-take basis." The two sides had not gone into details about the specifics of the border issue during the eighth round of official-level talks.

Minister of State for External Affairs K Natwar Singh earlier gave a resume of the eighth round of Sino-Indian border talks, and told the members that the discussions were held in a constructive atmosphere.

Both delegations had expressed their governments' determination to avoid confrontation and conflict and maintain peace and tranquillity along the Sino-Indian boundary.

Following these talks, Mr Natwar Singh said, it was felt that the countries could continue to strengthen bilateral cooperation in various fields. Efforts were being made by both sides to create necessary climate to make progress on the boundary issue.

The minister told the committee that India believed discussions on the border issue should be held in a spirit of "mutual benefit and mutual interest" and that the solution "should be mutually acceptable."

Clarifying that point later, during his summing up, the Prime Minister said the solution should be acceptable not only to the two governments, but also to the peoples of the two countries.

Reacting to Mr Natwar Singh's observation that the eighth round of official talks had created an atmosphere of peace and tranquillity, Mr A.B. Vajpayee(BJP) recalled that a similar arrangement had been worked out in 1979 also, when he was the External Affairs Minister.

The Chinese assured that they would maintain peace all along the border, but had violated that understanding, Mr Vajpayee said. He asked what was the guarantee that the Chinese would observe the understanding of avoiding confrontation and conflict on the border and not commit aggression on Indian territory again.

Prof N.G. Ranga stressed that India should make its views on Pakistan known to the Chinese side at the next round of talks, and clearly tell China to remain "non-aligned" in the India-Pakistan relations.

Mr M.S. Gurupadaswamy (Janata) drew the Government's attention to the reports that the Chinese had built two air-strips in Tibet and near Arunachal Pradesh close to the border.

**Border Forces Smash Several Pakistani Spy Rings**  
46001150 Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
30 Nov 87 p 7

[Text] Jammu, Nov 29. The Border Security Force claims to have unearthed several Pakistani spy rings, operating for several years in Jammu district. At least 50 members of the Pakistani espionage network are said to have been arrested in the past year.

BSF sources told PTI that the arrested Pakistanis had been operating from various parts of the Jammu district under fictitious names like Ashok Kumar, Sardar Singh and Ram Kumar and had established contacts with people in Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab and New Delhi with a "definite plan of spying and espionage."

The sources said the Pakistani Field Intelligence Unit (FIU), which is supervising sabotage and subversion in northern India, especially in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir, had planted spies on a long-term basis to succeed in their "nefarious designs."

The BSF sources said these facts were disclosed during the interrogation of Khalid Zaheer, a Pakistani national, who was arrested by the anti-espionage wing of the Border Security Force in Krishnanagar locality of Jammu city, a few months back.

Zaheer was operating from the Krishnanagar area under three fictitious names, Ashok Kumar, Sardar Singh Jat and Ram Kumar, the sources said.

The BSF sources said Zaheer visited Government offices frequently posing himself as an intelligence officer with a forged identity card in the name of Ashok Kumar, Deputy Superintendent of Police.

During his interrogation Zaheer also disclosed that he had visited several security installations and passed information to Pakistan through his links who were later nabbed.

Zaheer (25) had successfully established links at various places in the Kashmir Valley and was to get married and settle in the valley.

The Border Security Force also nabbed eight persons stated to be members of an international smugglers gang, operating from Amritsar and Delhi with their headquarters in Pakistan. The BSF seized contraband articles, including gold biscuits worth more than Rs. 16 lakhs and foreign currency valued at Rs. 11.24 lakhs during raids in the R.S. Pura area early this month.

The BSF sources believe that there are possibilities that terrorists and trans-border smugglers might have shifted their clandestine activities to the Jammu border following the tight security arrangements along the Punjab border from where they had carried out their activities earlier.

A constant vigil was being maintained by the BSF along the Jammu and Kashmir border to check the activities of Pakistani spies, terrorists and smugglers, the sources added.

Special ambush have been organised by the BSF counter-espionage wing and all the passes and points suspected to be entry points of smugglers and other anti-national elements have been completely sealed, the sources added.—PTI

08309

**Strains Appear in Jammu, Kashmir Coalition**  
46001131 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English  
22 Nov 87 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, Nov 21—Strains are appearing in the year-old Congress-National Conference coalition in Jammu and Kashmir owing to conflicting compulsions on the two parties despite the chief minister, Dr Farooq Abdullah, steadfastly standing behind the accord with Mr Rajiv Gandhi.

Dr Abdullah is coming under severe criticism from sections of his party for what they call succumbing to pressures from the Centre and conceding demands that worked against the interests of the people of Kashmir valley.

The latest instance is a sharply-worded letter written to the chief minister by the National Conference MP, Mr Abdur Rashid Kabuli, accusing him of displaying authoritarian trends by rescinding the order to stop the "darbar move" without consulting the party.

**Dual Trouble**

Mr Kabuli, in his letter, referred to the recent visit of the Union home minister, Mr Buta Singh, to Srinagar and said that the Central leader's mission was to "force the state government to rescind the order."

He described it as an example of Dr Abdullah's "complete surrender over a matter that lies wholly within the state's jurisdiction."

The dual compulsion of trying to protect the party interest and keeping the coalition going is forcing National Conference leaders to resort to subterfuges that are leading to embarrassing consequences.

The latest of these is the walk-out staged in the Lok Sabha over a demand for a government statement on the Amnesty International report on the killings in Meerut.

There is confusion over the National Conference's stand on the issue because of the party leaders' effort to avoid embarrassment both at the Centre and in the state at the same time.

After the incident, the party MP, Mr Saifuddin Soz, gave two versions of the incident. He told correspondents of J & K newspapers that his party members joined the walk-out and got a press release issued in Jammu and Srinagar on the same lines.

But he assured correspondents of the national press that they did not walkout. As a result, two different versions were published in J & K and in Delhi.

**CM in the Dark**

Preceding these incidents is the considerable embarrassment caused to Dr Abdullah by the announcement from Raj Bhavan in Srinagar of the swearing-in ceremony organised for inducting the Congress MP, Mr G.L. Dogra, into the state cabinet.

The ceremony was cancelled because it apparently had not occurred to anyone that it was the chief minister who chooses his cabinet colleagues. Dr Abdullah did not know anything about the ceremony.

The faux pas was caused by the Congress anxiety to rectify the "imbalances" in the state cabinet, which went in favour of the National Conference, by inducting a senior Congress leader into the cabinet.

The central Congress leadership was under considerable pressure from the state unit. On getting a "green signal" from Delhi, someone in Srinagar apparently hurried in haste to get the job done and caused embarrassment all round.

Dr Abdullah has not yet shown any sign that the strains can lead him to break up the coalition. But the discordant note in the partnership is growing louder.

08309

**Eighth 5-Year Plan To Emphasize Technology**  
46001136 Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English  
25 Nov 87 p 9

[Text] Calcutta, Nov 24. The Eighth Plan, which is in the process of being formulated, would place greater emphasis on technology import and upgradation of technology, Mr Abid Hussain, member Planning Commission, said here today while addressing the members of the Bharat Chambers of Commerce.

Mr Hussain added that technology would be the kingpin of the evolving strategies. Technology, he said should be geared to maximum utilisation of our scarce resources. In the same context he pointed out that even our education policies would have to be technology oriented so that we can create a strong base for the upgradation of our products.

Strongly advocating the continuance of the policy of liberalisation, which he said has ushered in an era of competition, Mr Hussain said that Indian industry should learn not to seek budgetary support at the mere hint of trouble. The easy access to soft money from the exchequer has been one of the major causes for sicknesses, especially in the case of public sector units. To plug this loophole the Eighth Plan would drastically cut down expenditure on non-plan and non-developmental activities. In the process some of the subsidies and other projects might have to be discontinued, he added.

Rejecting the industry's view that India was suffering from a demand recession the Planning Commission member said such utterances only reflected the industry's nervousness at the increasing competition. Industry has got to realise the fact that the market has changed into a buyers' one and it was time they learnt to create a market for their products. Creation of market was only possible if the manufacturers could supply quality products at reasonable prices as otherwise competition would throw them out of the market, Mr Hussain pointed out.

Innovative ideas were also needed to survive in the world of competition and in this context he cited the example of Japanese companies, which were constantly updating their products, to retain or capture markets. Narrating an incident during his recent visit to Japan Mr Hussain said that a particular watch manufacturing company there was trying to develop a watch for the Gulf market which would indicate five times in the day the time for prayer.

All these again pointed to the need for technology upgradation and he said that if indigenous technology was not available there should be no harm in importing it. Industry he said must learn to give the pride of place to the technocrat as otherwise competition would force the outdated industries to go out of business. "Industry has to be technology oriented rather than balance sheet oriented," Mr Hussain added.

Referring to the recent stock market crash in the US and Japan he said that it goes to the credit of the Indian policy makers that our country was not affected by it. The slump in the Indian stock exchanges he said were due to overspeculative activities. It also raises the question about the last boom which was to a large extent a result of mindless euphoria on the part of the investing public. The government, he said, was in the process of evolving rules to discipline such behaviour with the ultimate objective of protecting the genuine investor.

Speaking on the drought situation he said such calamities would have to be taken into account while formulating our agricultural policies in future. A great deal of emphasis would be placed on dry land farming in the Eighth Plan which should effectively combat such a

situation he added. Earlier Mr R.N. Dey, president of the chamber, highlighted the possible adverse impact of the drought on the national economy, which he said could lead to a fall in demand.

08309

#### **Antarctic Expedition Leaves From Goa, Aims Told**

*46001139 New Delhi PATRIOT in English  
26 Nov 87 p 1*

[Text] The seventh Indian scientific expedition to Antarctica left on Wednesday evening from Goa in the Swedish ice-breaker 'Thuleland', reports UNI.

The 90-member expedition is led by Dr R Sengupta, a scientist from the National Institute of Oceanography, and a member of the first Indian expedition.

Besides scientists and experts from various fields, the team includes personnel of the three wings of the armed forces.

The expedition will undertake airborne magnetic survey of the Gruber Massif and the low snow-bound areas between Schirmacher and Wohlthat ranges. The primary objective of these investigations will be to delineate subglacial geology of this region with a view to assess its mineral potential.

The expedition will continue geological studies in Humboldt Massif of Wohlthat mountains covering an area of about 1,000 sq km. This area has revealed interesting deposits of minerals and ilmenite core having 98 per cent purity. These investigations are of primary importance since these would enable India to claim a resources share in the mineral regime of Antarctica.

08309

#### **Four More Tribes Included in Scheduled Tribes List**

*46001140 Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English  
26 Nov 87 p 7*

[Text] New Delhi, Nov 25—The Rajya Sabha yesterday passed a Bill by which the Boro, Kachari, Koch and Rabha tribes would be included in the list of Scheduled Tribes in the State of Meghalaya. The Lok Sabha had passed it earlier. The Bill replaces an Ordinance issued in September. A resolution opposing the Bill, sponsored by the BJP was defeated.

Piloting the legislation, the Minister of State for Welfare, Mrs Rajendra Kumari Bajpayi, said the Government had to issue an ordinance to enable the Election Commission take necessary action to reserve seats in the State Assembly for members of those tribes. The elections to the Assembly are due early next year.

Members generally welcomed the provisions of the Bill, though the Opposition contested the need for an ordinance to have been issued and objected to the frequent use of ordinances by the Government. They felt its timing was politically motivated.

From all sections of the House came a demand for a comprehensive legislation on including more communities in the lists of Scheduled Castes and Tribes. Members noted that this was not the first time such additions were being made to the list, so the Government should consider a total review.

They felt that the list should have uniform application all over the country. It made little sense that communities were given different status in different parts of the country. Some of them felt that reservation should continue for many more years, others wondered how claims could be advanced that employment quotas could not be filled, especially at the lower levels.

08309

**Record Deficit in Current Account Forecast**  
*46001152b Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English*  
*1 Dec 87 p 8*

[Article by K.K. Sharma]

[Text] New Delhi, Nov 30. Despite the recent surge in exports, India's current account deficit—the gap in payments not covered by export earnings and from “invisibles” like tourism and services—is likely to be a record Rs 4,500 to 5,000 crores this year.

This will result in increased pressure on the foreign exchange reserves, which are already hovering at the near crisis level of four months' worth of imports and could lead to additional external borrowings and foreign aids.

India's balance of payments has also been under pressure for the last three years mainly because of the widening trade gap, which reached a record Rs 7,513 crores in 1986-87. Half-yearly figures for foreign trade show that exports in the April-September, 1987, period rose by 6.5 per cent against 16.7 per cent in the same period of 1986.

But this increase is in rupee terms and does not take into account the sharp fall in the external value of the Indian currency in recent months. The volume of exports has not risen as dramatically as the trade figures suggest.

Imports, on the other hand, have increased by as much as 12.6 per cent in the first six months of 1987-88. Thus, although the trade gap is now lower than in the same period last year, fears are that the deficit will increase because of the need for higher imports during the rest of the year owing to the drought and the hardening of world crude prices.

The position is exacerbated by signs that foreign exchange earnings from “invisibles” especially those resulting from remittances by Indians abroad, are not rising as fast as in previous years and so this cushion for the reserves is not as comfortable as it has been.

Remittances by non-resident Indians, which are an important source of foreign exchange earnings, are thought to be tapering off.

Deposits in external accounts in Indian banks by non-resident Indians are still healthy at around Rs 4,500 crores, but this is mainly because of the preferential rates of interest paid on them as compared to the rates prevailing in other countries. Withdrawals, should they be made, could mean that these are not really a dependable source for the foreign exchange reserves.

Because of the foreign exchange shortage, India has sought increasing amounts of relatively expensive loans from world commercial markets. Indications are that these may amount to \$4 billion this year, more than double the sum envisaged by the Seventh Plan.

This will add to the problems of repayment at a time when India's total external debt and debt servicing have taken a turn for the worse. World Bank figures show that the total foreign debt was around \$40 billion at the end of 1986 and the debt service ratio was a high 28.4 per cent, far more than the 20 per cent considered to be the manageable level.

Economic News Service.

08309

**ONGC Plans To Raise Production of Crude Oil**  
*46001151b New Delhi PATRIOT in English*  
*30 Nov 87 p 9*

[Text] Despite making a record profit in 1986-87, the percentages of dividend paid to the Government by the Oil and Natural Gas Commission is one of the lowest among the public undertakings under the Petroleum and Natural Gas Ministry, reports UNI.

The percentage of dividend paid by the ONGC to the Government is only 10.5 per cent, as against 10 per cent paid in the previous year. The total capital investment on ONGC as on 1 April 1987 was Rs 3,300 crore including paid up capital of Rs 343 crore, according to the financial statistics released by the Ministry. This is the highest capital investment made by the Government among all other public undertakings under the Petroleum Ministry.

The ONGC made a record net profit of Rs 1,484.85 crore during 1986-87 and the total dividend paid to the Government was Rs 36 crore according to official sources.

Oil India Limited, the other public sector of exploration and production agency, paid a dividend of 15 percent on the paid up capital for the year. The company has been paying 15 percent dividend for the past nine years, except during 1980-81 when it suffered losses on account of the oil blockage in Assam.

Among the public undertakings under the Ministry, Lubrizol India Limited paid the highest 22.5 percent dividend to the Government during the year. Three other public undertakings—Engineers India Limited, Indo-Burmah Petroleum and Balmer Lawrie paid 20 percent dividend on the paid up capital.

Indian Oil Corporation paid a dividend of Rs 19.72 crore, which works out to 16 percent on the paid up capital.

The Madras Refineries paid a dividend of 15 percent and Bharat Petroleum Corporation Limited 14 percent for the year. The percentage of dividend paid by the Cochin Refineries Limited works out to 12 percent and the Hindustan Petroleum 10 percent.

Bieco Lawrie and Bongagaon Refinery and Petrochemicals Limited did not pay any dividend to the Government during the year.

The total amount of dividend received by the Petroleum Ministry from the public undertakings under it during 1986-87 was Rs 88.63 crore as against Rs 81.79 crore received in the previous year.

The total capital investment in public undertakings under the Ministry at the beginning of April this year was Rs 6,262.59.

08309

## Papers Report Results of Nagaland Elections

### Chief Minister Reelected

46001132 *Madras THE HINDU in English*  
22 Nov 87 p 1

[Excerpt] Kohima, Nov 21. Mr. Hokushe Sema was today unanimously elected leader of the Nagaland Congress(I) Legislature Party. The meeting was attended by 30 out of the 31 Congress(I) members till now elected.

Mr. Sema's name was proposed by Mr. Chiten Jamir, the president of the NPCC(I), and was seconded, among others, by Mr. K.L. Chishi and Mr. Lakiumong. The Congress(I) campaign was steered by the Union Minister, Mr. Rajesh Pilot.

Mr. Sema had earlier served a full term as Chief Minister between 1969 and 1974. Defeated in the Assembly elections of 1974, he virtually withdrew from State politics for over a decade. He was the Governor of Himachal Pradesh between April 1984 and March 1986.

He returned as Chief Minister in October 1986 replacing a beleaguered Mr. S.C. Jamir whose leadership had come under severe strain.

### Unanimous Vote

46001132 *Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English*  
22 Nov 87 p 4

[Article by Wasbir Hussain, Jagmeet Uppal: "Hokushe Sema Reelected Unanimously"]

[Text] Kohima, Nov 21. Mr Hokushe Sema was today unanimously reelected leader of the Congress(I) legislature party of the 60-member Nagaland Legislative Assembly. His name was proposed by the PCC(I) chief, Mr R.C. Chiten Jamir, and seconded by Mr K.L. Chishi and two others. The ministry will be sworn in at 9 am tomorrow.

This will be Mr Sema's third term as Nagaland chief minister. He was brought back to state politics by the party high command last November to replace Mr S.C. Jamir during whose tenure dissident activities within the state Congress(I) reached an all-time high. Mr Sema headed the Naga Nationalists Organisation from 1969-74. Later he was made governor of Himachal Pradesh, inducted into the Rajya Sabha and finally sent back to the state as chief minister.

Twenty-eight of the 31 party MLAs gathered at the chief minister's residence to elect the new leader. Eleven MLAs were from districts like Tuensang and Mong.

The meeting, scheduled for 10.30 am, was postponed to the afternoon after two hours of informal discussions on the pretext that the CLP leader would be elected in the presence of the AICC general secretary in charge of the northeastern states, Mr Oscar Fernandes, who was away in Dimapur. However, later the MLAs elected their leader in the absence of Mr Fernandes. Only the party observers, Mr Rajesh Pilot and Mr Kalita, were present at the meeting which was also attended by Mr S.C. Jamir, MP and former chief minister.

Mr Fernandes, however, arrived from Dimapur to finalise the names of the ministers who are to be sworn in tomorrow morning and their portfolios.

Though there was a clear directive from the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, that Mr Hokushe Sema should be the unanimous choice for party leader, party sources said Mr Chiten Jamir tried to scuttle the process of a unanimous choice by clearly indicating his intention of becoming the party leader.

He was opposed by the Lok Sabha MP, Mr Chingwang Konyak, who won the Wakching Assembly seat. But Mr S.C. Jamir, who was watching the developments calmly, finally sacrificed Mr R.C. Chiten Jamir "for the greater interest of the party."

Mr J.B. Jasokie, former chief minister who recently joined the Congress(I) from the NNNDP, was also in the race till last night. However, he later withdrew in favour of Mr Hokishe Sema and conveyed to the high command observers that he would "not come in the way of my brother, Mr Sema." He is being tipped to become Speaker of the new Assembly.

The strength of the new ministry would be less than 10 to start with, it was decided this morning after prolonged discussions between Mr Hokishe Sema, Mr Pilot and other top state leaders.

#### Independents Pledge Support

For the first time, Independent MLAs are not going to have a role in the ministry-making process. However, three elected Independents—Mr Vihepu Yeptho, son-in-law of Mr Hokishe Sema, Mr John Lotha and Mr I. Chouba—have pledged their support to the Congress(I) government.

#### List of Cabinet Members

46001132 New Delhi PATRIOT in English  
23 Nov 87 p 1

[Text] Following is the list of Congress MLAs who were as sworn in as members of the Nagaland Ministry.

#### Cabinet Rank

1. Mr Hokishe Sema, Chief Minister
2. Mr Chingwang Konyak
3. Mr J.B. Jasokie
4. Mr N I Jamir
5. Mr I K Sema
6. Mr Tiameren Ao
7. Shikiho Sema
8. Dr Vizadel Sakhrie
9. Mr Kiyezhe Sema
10. Mr T Rothrong
11. Mr Changkong Chang
12. Mr Yokten Konyak
13. Mr N Yeanphong Konyak
14. Mr Zhovehu Lohe
15. Mr I Ghutoshe Sema

#### Ministers of State

16. Mr T N Ngullie
17. Mr Kokheto Sema
18. Mr Lakhimong
19. Mr Nillo Rengma
20. Mr Chubatemjen

#### 'Modest Victory'

46001132 Madras THE HINDU in English  
23 Nov 87 p 7

[Text] Kohima, Nov 22. Considering the energy and the resources that the Congress(I) had spent and the advantages it had, the party's securing an absolute majority in Nagaland has to be seen as only a modest achievement. Nevertheless, the victory brings cheer to the party in that after the successive defeats in Punjab, Assam, Mizoram and Haryana, the party at last had a taste of victory even if it has been in power in Nagaland and it has been achieved in unusual circumstances. What is to be noted is that with all the advantages it had it could not make the victory more emphatic.

#### Natural Advantage:

The natural advantage the Congress(I) had in Nagaland comprised many components. The most important of the apparently fortuitous circumstances which have contributed to this advantage was the decision of the All-Assam Students Union (AASU) to impose the so-called "economic blockade" on Nagaland on the eve of the polls. The blockade was not effective since it was in effect for a far too short a period, but nevertheless it gave a tremendous handle to the Congress(I) by enabling the party to present itself before the people as the only one which could come to the aid of the people in moments of crisis.

Central leaders openly spoke of organising emergency air supplies to the State. The whole crisis had a contrived air and, in any way blew over when the blockade was lifted. But the principal challenger of the Congress(I) in the State, the NNNDP, which has good relations with the Asom Gana Parishad, suffered because of the AGP's own organic links with the AASU.

The simmering tension over the Assam-Nagaland boundary too affected the NNNDP adversely for the same reasons. But this is an issue having greater significance for Nagaland and no party including the NNNDP can afford even to appear as weak or accommodating the claims of Assam.

#### Opposition Role

Secondly, the intervention from leaders of regional and national Opposition parties on behalf of the NNNDP did not exactly help the NNNDP. Especially disastrous was the intervention of the Telugu Desam leader and A.P. Chief Minister, Mr. N.T. Rama Rao. His appearance in saffron robes and his general theatrical deportment and speech certainly put off the Naga public. Even those party faithfuls attending his meeting at Kohima were there for curiosity sake.

Intervention by other leaders like Mr. H.N. Bahuguna and Mr. Devi Lal had less impact. But to be fair, even the Prime Minister's intervention did not especially help the congress much as is evidenced by the fact that the party has won by a whisker.

#### No Match in Resources:

Thirdly, the NNNDP just simply could not match the Congress(I) in resources. That money plays an important role in elections in India is a truism. But the blatant use of hard cash for securing votes is now taken for granted

in Nagaland. Many candidates, winning as well as losing, themselves acknowledged that the results had been influenced by the simple fact that one person had spent more money than the rest. Little of this money was spent on usual campaign methods like sticking posters or slogan writing on the walls. Almost all of the money, it is openly acknowledged in all circles, was simply given to secure votes. Indeed, the Telugu Desam leader, Mr. Upendra, tried to make a virtue of this practice by exhorting the voters in his speech in Kohima to take the money offered by the Congress(I), but vote for the NNDP. But the appeal did not click.

#### Political Problem:

Finally, on the question of finding a solution to the political problem in Nagaland—that is beginning a dialogue with the insurgents and arriving at a settlement with them—it is clear that the Congress(I) was able to present itself as a party better qualified to take this up than the NNDP. Since there is a Congress(I) Government at the Centre, this was certainly a convincing argument. But what is not clear is whether even the State leaders of the Congress(I) genuinely desire a final settlement or are only interested in the continuance of the insurgency which ensures the flow of large Central subventions to Nagaland. The prolongation of insurgency certainly has great advantages for the Naga politicians of every hue.

#### Under Pressure:

Politics even in Nagaland can never be an entirely cynical exercise. The new Government in the State may perhaps turn out to be even more venal than the previous one. But it will certainly be under pressure as much from its own constituents as from the Naga public opinion to press for a settlement of the political question. For any politician, even in the Congress(I), to continue to be credible in Nagaland, has to make the distinction between "peace and settlement" and insist that without a settlement the peace that has been in existence will continue to be fragile. Indeed, this is the ideological framework within which the uses of insurgency become easier to comprehend. But since it is unlikely that those who are actually engaged in the insurgency are partners of such a cynical game plan, a cosy arrangement may not possibly continue indefinitely at least in theory.

#### Efforts To Contact Underground

46001132 Madras THE HINDU in English  
23 Nov 87 p 1

[Text] Kohima, Nov 22—A three-member team comprising representatives from Nagaland and the Naga-inhabited area of Ukhrul in Manipur is to be provided with all facilities to establish contact with the underground National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) and to enable communication between the Government and NSCN with a view to formulating a basis for a settlement of the Nagaland political question.

The contact team consists of Mr. M. Vero, the Reverend Chincan Konyak and Mr. Khamran Tangkhul. This was announced by the Chief Minister, Mr. Hokishe Sema, at a press conference after the swearing in of a 20-member Ministry headed by him this morning at the Kohima Raj Bhavan.

20-member Ministry sworn in: Mr. Sema said that after the announcement of the results of Tamlu and Lonaeng constituencies he would consider including a representative from the Phom tribe in the Cabinet. The Ministry sworn in this morning by the Governor, Gen. Krishna Rao, at the Raj Bhavan, does not include any representative from this tribe, one of the major tribes of Nagaland. The Ministry consists of 15 Cabinet Ministers and five Ministers of State. The Cabinet Ministers are from Semas (5), Konyaka (3), Angami and Ao tribes (two each) and from Change, Sangtam and Chakesang tribes (one each). The Ministers of State are from Lotha, Sema and Yimchunger, Rengma and Ao tribes (one each).

Chiten Jamir not included: Mr. Chingwang Konyaka, an MP, who successfully contested the election, was sworn in just after the Chief Minister and was acknowledged by Mr. Hokishe Sema himself to be No. 2 man in the Cabinet. A glaring omission from the Council of Ministers is that of Mr. Chiten Jamir, NPCC (I) President. Mr. Sema said that Mr. Chiten Jamir has insisted on his being named Deputy Chief Minister, but this demand could not be accommodated. This also explains Mr. Chiten Jamir's absence from the swearing in.

Boundary dispute: Answering questions on the Assam-Nagaland boundary dispute, the Chief Minister said that Nagaland would not resile from its position that "the historical boundary" of the State had to be restored. Assam insists on what is called the constitutional boundary based on the 1925 notification.

Mr. Hokishe Sema also replied to questions on the infighting in the Congress (I), the phenomenon of rebel candidates and the use of money power in the election. Some of the four successful rebel candidates have announced that they would support the Government. One of these four is Mr. Hokishe Sema's son-in-law, who won the Dempoor-3 seat. Another close relative of a leading Congress functionary who had won as a rebel candidate is Mr. Imtisungit Jamir who is a younger brother of former Chief Minister, Mr S.C. Jamir.

#### UNI reports:

Mr. Sema said only the NSCN had sent feelers for a settlement and there was no word from the other insurgent group, "Federal Government of Nagaland."

Mr. Sema, who has survived a number of ambushes by insurgents, said the Manipur Chief Minister, Mr. Rishang Keishing, who has all along advocated tougher measures against the insurgent group, had also spoken about the need for a negotiated settlement of the problem.

He denied the Opposition allegation that the NSCN had supported the Congress(I).

08309

## PAKISTAN

### Foreign Affairs Minister: No Objection to Indo-U.S. Accord

46000075c Karachi DAWN in English 20 Jan 88 p 12

[Article: "No Objection to Indo-U.S. Accord on Super Computers"]

[Text] Islamabad, Jan 19. The Minister of State for Foreign Affairs has said the agreement regarding sale of supercomputer by USA to India was signed in New Delhi on Oct 9 last. "We came to know of it on Oct 10 through a despatch from our embassy in New Delhi and media reports."

Replying to a question from Shah Baleeghuddin, he said no protest was lodged with the Government of the United States for the following reasons:

(I) "India was initially keen to acquire the more sophisticated Cary XMP-24 model but the US believed that the supply of less sophisticated (XMP-14) computer removed any cause for concern regarding its possible use for developing nuclear weapons. The agreement further allows the United States to see for itself that the computer is not being misused.

(II) A protest would have been inconsistent with Pakistan's view that every country has a sovereign right to determine its economic development needs and security requirements and seek outside assistance in this regard. We have exercised this sovereign right in developing friendly relations with the United States and would not like India to object to it. Accordingly, it will be unjustifiable for us to protest over such agreements between India and the United States."

He pointed out that at the meeting between Prime Minister Junejo and President Reagan the nuclear issue did come up. The Prime Minister reiterated Pakistan's well-known position on the peaceful nature of Pakistan's nuclear programme and emphasised that the best way to achieve the objective of non-proliferation in South Asia would be to pursue the regional approach.—PPI

/12223

### Punjab PPP Leader Vows To Continue Struggle

46000075b Karachi DAWN in English 21 Jan 88 p 3

[Article: "PPP Struggle for Justice To Continue"]

[Text] Vehari, Jan 20. Mr Jehangir Badar, President, Punjab PPP, has said that the PPP will continue its struggle against dictatorship, Jagirdari, capitalism and undemocratic activities of the present regime till socio-economic justice is provided to the poor people of the country.

He was talking to "Dawn" at the residence of Rao Sajid Mahmood, Secretary General of Vehari a district PPP.

He described the recently concluded local bodies elections as undemocratic. He claimed that in spite of heavy pressure from the government and direct involvement of the administration, the candidates supported by the democratic forces emerged victorious in large numbers throughout the country.

He said that at the time of the election of chairmen of local bodies the undemocratic designs were fully exposed when the government tried its best to get favourable results, by adopting unfair means.

He feared that the government will try to repeat the history of these local bodies elections in the next general election.

He warned that the policy of the present regime to remain in power by "hook or by crook" will be harmful to the country. The smaller units of the country will be on the receiving end and they will have to think about adopting other methods to free themselves from this unjust and cruel system of the government, he added.

/12223

### Removal of Ban on Student Unions Urged

46000075d Karachi DAWN in English 20 Jan 88 p 9

[Article: "JI Struggling for Removal of Ban on Student Unions: Qazi"]

[Text] Karachi, Jan 19. Qazi Husain Ahmad, Amir, Jamaat-i-Islami, on Tuesday told a meeting of the Islami Jamiat-i-Tulaba, here that the Jamaat was struggling for the removal of ban on student unions because it was convinced that students' activities helped in moulding character of the youth.

The JI chief said the only solution of the present crisis was that the President discarded his military uniform and general elections were held on the party basis.

He demanded repatriation of the stranded Pakistanis in Bangladesh without further delay.



Qazi Ahmad earlier visited the Borstal Jail, Landhi, and met the young inmates. He criticised the Government for keeping Sind Medical College students in jail for the last 10 months or so under "fictitious charges" and demanded their immediate release.

Meanwhile, JI leaders here who met under the presidency of Prof Ghafoor Ahmad on Tuesday, observed that by imposing curfew strictly and for longer period peace may be restored temporarily, but that it provided no lasting solution.

While expressing sympathy with the bereaved/affected families, they protested that food sent by the Jamaat for the riot victims in Shah Faisal Colony was returned by the military authorities.

Our correspondent in Sukkur adds: Addressing a public meeting near the Railway Institute, the JI chief urged all the political parties, particularly the religious-minded ones to get united and fight for a change in the political social and economic system so that the prevailing injustices could be brought to an end.

The JI chief demanded that President Gen Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq should step down as Chief of Army Staff before the next general elections.

Qazi Saheb regretted that wide national thinking was lacking today and various prejudices were being fanned in the country.

He said the Government had totally failed to control the law and order situation. He appealed to all the political parties to come to the rescue of the suffering masses and work unitedly for the achievement of their objectives. The Jamaat leader also criticised the economic, defence and foreign policies of the present government, saying the rulers had proved incapability in all these fields.

The Jamaat leader said government jobs were being provided to the relatives of influential persons, while educated youths from poor families wandered here and there for employment.

Maulana Jan Mohammad Abbasi, Mr Liaquat Baluch, Mr Aslam Saleemi and others also spoke on the occasion. They demanded of the Government to impose a ban on the construction of houses on plots of more than 500 square yards or one kanal and distribute government-owned plots among the shelterless people in the country. They also demanded that employment problem be solved and the lands granted to privileged people be resumed and distributed among the landless haris.

Earlier, Qazi Hussain Ahmed also addressed a gathering near the Railway Station, Rohri.

Permission cancelled: The Divisional Superintendent, Pakistan Railways, Sukkur, cancelled the permission earlier granted to the Jamaat-i-Islami for the holding of a

public meeting at the Railway Institute, Sukkur, on Tuesday. The Amir, Jamaat-i-Islami, Qazi Hussain Ahmed, Maulana Jan Mohammad Abbasi, JI MNAA and MPAs held their public meeting on the main road in front of the Railway Institute.

They bitterly criticised the cancellation of the permission by authorities which was earlier granted to them.

/12223

### **NPP Chairman Expresses Doubt on Fair Elections**

46000075e Karachi DAWN in English 15 Jan 88 p 3

[Article: "Jatoi Doubts Fair General Elections"]

[Text] Karachi, Jan 14. Mr Ghulam Mustafa, Jatoi, Chairman, National People's Party, said on Thursday that the "fraudulent manner" in which the local bodies poll has been manipulated in favour of the ruling PML has dashed all hopes of fair and free general elections ever being held under the present regime.

Even so, he challenged the claimants of 80 per cent success for the PML to publish the names of their successful candidates and said they will see that "we (of the NPP) have done well enough".

On the other hand, the LB poll has demolished the "Idol of invincibility" pampered by a political party which used to claim that "even a lamppost it would favour will be elected," he observed.

Mr Jatoi was speaking at a launching ceremony of a 1988 diary titled "Karwan-e-Jatoi" and compiled by Shafaatullah and Siraj Amjadi, at the NPP Central Secretariat here.

Mrs Amina Nagori, Rabita Secretary, PPP (Sind), Mr Mohammad Ali Patel, a PPP worker, and Mr Mustafa Qadri (Jamaat Ahle Sunnat) announced their decision to join NPP.

The NPP chief said: "The country cannot prosper and become strong without maximum autonomy for the provinces."

The only way justice to all the citizens will be ensured when an equitable and just order prevailed in and between all the provinces alike, he added.

He called for filling vacancies in various departments/agencies with the local people only. In Sind anyone who lives, works and dies for the homestead is a Sindhi and has as much right to the resources of Sind as "I and my children have", Mr Jatoi asserted.

His party stood for justice "at all levels." It was committed to enforcing a welfare programme for the young, aged and the widows as also the sick and disabled, in addition to the unemployed youth—a programme which, he claimed, no other party had to offer to the poor have-nots.

Mr Jatoi said it might initially appear to be an ambitious welfare programme, but he added the country had "enough resources" to have it implemented. What was needed was the honesty of purpose and the will to do a job, he emphasised while claiming that his party possessed both the attributes.

Stressing that only a "clean leadership" could tackle the complex problems Mr Jatoi castigated the PML Government for having created more problems than solved them during its three-year tenure.

The NPP pledged to make Pakistan a truly welfare State by providing one-room homes for the shelterless, free and compulsory primary education, jobs to the unemployed and stipends to the aged, widows and orphans. In addition, jobs up to grade 17 in the Federal and provincial services as well as in the autonomous bodies will be provided to the people in the province where such vacancies arise, he added.

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**India Seeking To Control Indian Ocean**  
*46000076a Karachi DAWN in English*  
18 Jan 88 pp 7, 12

[Article by Dr S.M. Koreschi: "New Delhi's Ambitions in the Indian Ocean"]

[Text] Since 1980, India has been emerging as the dominant naval power in the Indian Ocean, but hardly any notice has been taken in South-east Asia or even in Pakistan of the grave consequences of this development.

It has gone so unnoticed that a recent issue of a Pakistani journal, devoted entirely to a study of the Indian military strength has ended with the conclusion that India seems to have acquired the ability to dominate South Asia. This conclusion could have been reached only by ignoring the implications of the recent developments in the Ocean. India's sights are now set on much higher targets: ambitions to convert the Indian Ocean into an Indian lake, plus domination over South Asia and the littoral States.

Even in South-east Asia, except in a section of Indonesian Press which took notice of India's Nicobar naval base, the new strategic environment remains unnoticed, (despite Indian military intervention in Sri Lanka), perhaps under the influence of Indian propaganda that all its military modernisation is a response to Pakistan's purchases of American arms. But India's naval build-up has nothing to do with this matter.

As A.J. Tellis, an expert on naval affairs, pointed out in "Naval Forces" (November 1987 issue) the fallacy of this argument when he stated that for "the present modernisation" of its navy, India "periodically cites American arms sales to the region, but it is self-evident that the scale and character of the Indian Navy's present growth transcends any simple competitive considerations vis-a-vis Pakistan."

The phase when Indian objective was to acquire supremacy over Pakistan ended in 1971, as during 1966 to 1972, Indian Navy had practically doubled, and was about three times larger numerically at the time of India-Pakistan conflict in 1971. It proved its supremacy in this conflict when Pakistan was practically blockaded by Indian, cutting Pakistan's sea lanes with outside world.

It was from 1972 that India started to develop a regional navy. From 1974, of all the three services, the Indian Navy was allocated the largest amount for its capital purchases. In 1978, a 20-year programme of Indian Navy's modernisation was made out and implemented. By 1985-86, India had over 100 warships, divided into three fleets; western (HQ Bombay) facing Pakistan, southern poised against mid-Indian Ocean with HQ at Cochin, eastern facing South East Asian littoral with HQ at Vizigapatnam.

The Navy has both defensive and offensive capacity in blue waters. It has two Aircraft Carriers; both have been extensively fitted and modernized. It should be kept in view that ACs are offensive warships. Naval aviation at present consists of about 75 aircraft. To this impressive aviation capabilities, significant improvements have been made in the equipment and basing facilities. Many of the warships are fitted with excellent missilery. All the weaponry is being updated with advanced technology provided by foreign countries. It has 12 submarines, and 12 amphibious vessels. Bulk of the frontline warships are 10 to 20 years old, which means that the Navy has solved its obsolescence problem.

This is just the beginning. The future plans of increase in naval power and modernisation are of more formidable dimensions. The present fleet of 12 subs is being increased to 22.24. Main reliance will be on more efficient and noiseless subs like Kilo class Soviet submarines. The fleet of destroyers will be raised to between 18 to 24 (15 to be indigenously produced). A third indigenously designed AC of 30,000 to 40,000 tons is expected to be in service by late nineties. Other warships like frigates and missile boats etc. will also be increased very substantially.

In regard to the offensive capability, besides the ACs and naval aviation, two more points need to be taken into account. Amphibious ability is counted as the cutting edge of any viable power projection. At present India's landing crafts are capable of transporting a battalion

anywhere in the Indian Ocean islands. The projected increase in this respect is for transporting one brigade with full supporting arms in the Indian Ocean.

The present surveillance capacity of Indian Navy is from the Gulf in the west to the Malaccas in the east, with a maritime reconnaissance force of 30 major aircraft. With the addition of 8 TU-142 MS it is planned to extend this capacity farther to an arc covering Madagascar-Tropic of Cancer-North Australia. The Navy air force will be fitted with missiles capable of locating and destroying the naval crafts.

The idea to make India the dominant power in the Indian Ocean was first put forward by the British. In this context, on winding up their Indian Empire, the British bestowed on India the Andaman Islands and the Laccadives. The Andamans, consisting of 204 islands, inhabited by the aborigines of Negroite race, are kins of Semangs of Malaysia and pygmies of the Philippines. They had never allowed any outsiders to enter their land up to the 19th century, when the British occupied them. They have never been part of India at any time of the history.

#### Foreign Navies

A close scrutiny of the Indian proposal to exclude all foreign navies from the Indian Ocean will reveal its real purpose. Given complete mastery of Indian Ocean, India could just convert the Ocean as an Indian lake. The implementation of this objective commenced in the seventies after India bifurcated Pakistan.

The Indian objectives in the Indian Ocean are two: one, complete control of the Ocean; two, dominating South-east Asian littoral States.

It is in this context that we have to view India's reported deal for two nuclear submarines with the Soviet Union. It is immaterial whether these N-subs will be sold or rented to India. It will make India a super class naval power. This is a grave development, which will enable India to pursue its ambitious plans. It cannot be left unsaid that India was the first to introduce N-capability in the Subcontinent through its 1974 N-explosion and it has now become the first to induct N-weapon in the Indian Ocean. N-subs have caused public denunciation in Asia in general, and in Japan and even in New Zealand in particular.

India has an advanced rocketry project and it is already a nuclear threshold power. So half the job is now to be done by India itself. Otherwise what will be the usefulness of a N-sub on which there will be so much controversy in Asia. These subs will pollute the waters of the Ocean. It should be noted that the cost of these subs has been indicated in the Press at \$500 million per sub, but I remember that Prof. Salam, as the special guest speaker at a UN technology conference in Belgrade, had said that one N-sub costs \$3 billion.

Why is India doing in this big way for Indian Ocean? It is not a portion of the Ocean that India is interested in. All the amphibious, surveillance and regional thrust of the Indian navy points to some grand plan over the entire Ocean. The South-east Asia-wards thrust of Indian designs also seems to be borne out by the importance the Nicobar naval base occupies in Indian plans. This base has nothing to do with war plans, offensive or defensive, against Pakistan.

Nicobar is 2,500 miles away from Pakistan, there are two fleets at Cochin and Bombay poised against Pakistan. Port Blair, in Nicobar island, is planned to become one of the largest Indian Naval bases with warships, airborne strike units and amphibious vessels.

The Nicobar naval base, only 80 miles away from Indonesia's Sumatra island, is intended to control the critical choke point of Malaccas.

Jane's Fighting Ships, 1986-87, (p 127) the most respected technical journal, has assessed the capability of Indian navy in the following words, after surveying its strength: "This is not the inventory of a country whose only purpose is to remain at peace in a peaceful ocean."

What does India aim to achieve by such extraordinary naval power?

First and foremost is a plan for the control of sea resources in the ocean. Indian Ocean's offshore might be a good field for oil and other mineral resources prospecting, besides food. The sea around Andaman islands is rich in this respect. Less than 100 miles lies Sumatra of Indonesia, which is rich in oil. The likelihood of discoveries of oil in the sea in this region is quite bright. So is the case with the Gulf of Martaban.

India's main attraction for South-east Asia is the sea, mineral, oil, food resources and commerce and economic benefits. Naval power is supposed to add to India's influence. So far these countries have not been afraid of Indian influence because they have no political conflicts with India. But such conflicts may well follow on conflict of interests on sea resources, etc.

The seminar at New Delhi on India's Security, and other experts have visualised the use of Indian navy in aid of Indian diaspora in the Island countries. They will be used as a pretext of Indian military intervention in weaker littoral States. India's military intervention in Sri Lanka has brought into focus India's forward naval policy and the use of Indian origin elements for this purpose.

Tamils were an excuse, and not the reason of India's military intervention in Sri Lanka. They were after all a creation of India. If India had not given them a sanctuary, they will not have become a military credible force. Perhaps they were brought to India for providing India the pretext of intervention. India's gains are three: Sri

Lanka has virtually come under Indian protectorate, India has got a foothold in that strategically vital mid-Indian Ocean island country, and India can hope to get naval facilities at Trincomalee, so important in Indian Ocean strategy.

Now over 30,000 Indian troops are engaged in anti-Tamil operations which is an advantage as it provides Indian troops training in such future operations. Tamils have to become expandable, if they are not willing to play the game India had expected of them. They were merely tools in Indian hands. India could not be expected to sacrifice its strategic interests for their sake.

It is likely that the exact intentions and plans of India are still unclear, the exact nature of which cannot be predicted at this stage. The speed with which India is amassing arms is alarming. Its land forces are equal to the land forces of Pakistan plus Indonesia plus Malaysia plus Philippines plus Thailand plus Singapore. Its navy is to become the lord of the Indian Ocean among the regional navies. That India is becoming a militarist power is difficult to deny. Its hunger for arms and more arms is reminiscent of Japan's militarisation in the thirties. Now, N-sub's are being added to this inventory.

Then it seems that the use of military force by a dominant local military power against a weaker one for achieving political objectives has become permissible, as long as it succeeds. No longer such military intervention is limited to superpowers in their areas of influence. Two glaring examples of it are Israel in the Middle East and by India over Sri Lanka and earlier several times in the Sub-continent for changing the political map to its choosing.

The manner in which India is becoming a militaristic State shows that the Indian military establishment has become a powerful element in influencing decisions of its leadership.

Unless India understands the imperative need of abjuring the militarist tendencies, and gives up the lust for arms, the existing pattern of non-alignment in the region will be irreparably damaged and manifestation of an unforeseen kind may take place. Indian threat to the security of Asia, particularly to South-east Asia, after this has become a fact of life in South Asia and will no longer remain concealed.

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### **Country Said Unprepared To Meet India Challenge**

46000076b Karachi DAWN in English 7 Jan 88 p 4

[Article by Syed Akbar: "Indian Drive for Domination and our Preparedness"]

[Text] India has become a super power in South Asia, and the presence of its troops in Sri Lanka is the proof. This is what the Indians believe, and even the most

virulent critics of Rajiv Gandhi find this to their entire satisfaction. There is a popular consensus in India that by virtue of its size, its present and potential resources in manpower, economic base and natural wealth, greatness and overlordship of its geographic region is its destiny.

In the fifties, at the height of Pandit Nehru's leadership of the non-aligned movement, Sirdar Pannikar, who served as India's ambassador to China, dreamed and wrote about Bharat Mata's cultural and political aggrandizement in his history of South East Asia, perhaps fired by the flow of success he may have seen in Nehru's face. In this book, the vast Indian influence and domination was seen stretching to as far as Indonesia in the east, and Iran and Afghanistan in the west, and on this basis Sirdar Pannikar concluded that in order to come into its own, and achieve its historic destiny, India has no other choice but to dominate its near and far neighbours in South and South East Asia. When ancient history, political ambition and a fighting force, tested to success in a recent war against a natural enemy, are put together, they produce a very heady punch on which it is pardonable to get drunk and commit indiscretion. Reality acquires a surrealistic ambience, and it is quite possible that the Sri Lanka affair may be the beginning of this phase of India's foreign policy.

### **Forces**

Even though it is too early to say what will be the final shape of the settlement, Indian forces are there to enforce. But it is clear that they will not be withdrawn until the Tamil issue is settled in a manner that it does not cause India any embarrassment with its own Tamil population. The presence of 29,000 Indian armed personnel has the support of the Sri Lanka government, at whose invitation they were sent, and for both India and Sri Lanka this could be the last opportunity to resolve the issue in a legalistic manner. The alternative is horrendous, otherwise, Mr Jayawardhane, the President of Sri Lanka, sees this, in the twilight of his power and political wisdom, as the only way of bringing peace to his unhappy nation. The price he has agreed to pay for trying, at this stage, is to accept that India has a major political stake in the internal affairs of his country. This could not have been done lightly, but in the full knowledge of the fact that India possesses and will exercise the meaning of destabilising Sri Lanka in the name of this country's Tamil minority. That this tragic even has come to pass is entirely Sri Lanka's responsibility, and the unbelievable failure of its many governments to find a workable solution to its ethnic troubles. The condition which invites Indian interference should be quite clear, because we have two textbook cases now in the area: one in the situation of the emergence of Bangladesh, and now in Sri Lanka.

### **First Attempt**

India made its first gleeful attempt at regional leadership when it imposed its political will through its armed forces in a conflict between Bengali nationalism and a

military dictatorship in Pakistan. The moral ascendancy India acquired in the world for helping in the dismemberment of Pakistan is still fresh in our mind. The repeat performance, (despite some differences in circumstances and ostensible goal) in Sri Lanka proves that it has emerged as an established police force of the region, also interested in having its political claim over the region recognised by the countries in its neighbourhood and also internationally. Its action in Sri Lanka was welcomed by the super powers, and Rajiv Gandhi's leadership hailed in the world. This is a situation in which India alone wins and Sri Lanka remains an everlasting loser. The world recognises this, and considering India's size and resources, allows Rajiv Gandhi to extend a helping hand to Sri Lanka. The political capital India has earned from the world is very rich. It is looked up to as a power. It is consulted, from time to time, by the Soviet leadership, and this is evident from the visits of the Soviet Prime Minister and Defence Minister in quick succession. Earlier, these visits were preceded by that of Mr Gorbachov, Gen. Najibullah, the Kabul government's President also visited Delhi and met Rajiv Gandhi in what was described as a surprise meeting. Even USA has not stopped its difficult courtship, of India. These are the days of real politik in India, and the fortnightly "India Today", reports of Rajiv Gandhi flexing his muscles and pressurising Gen Ershad over the Chakma issue, forcing him to agree to meet their leaders, warning Nepal of dire consequences if it persists in its decision to buy anti-aircraft guns from China, and also a message sent to Pakistan, couched in the language suited to sharing of information, but really asking it to behave when India is busy in Sri Lanka. The magazine also adds in its report that India has taken a very tough stand with China over its border dispute in Arunachal Pradesh, and comments that all this is taking place at a time when the Indian army's chief of staff is as thoroughly professional, brilliant and acceptable to the politicians as Field Marshal Manekshaw was in the heyday of Indira Gandhi, Gen. Sunder Jee, the Indian army chief, is described as an extraordinary strategist, who not only knows the role his army has to play in satisfying India geopolitical ambitions, but is preparing it for this role, politically as well as technologically. The Sri Lanka episode is an exercise in the grand scheme in the making. The least that one can say about these developments is that they are ominous.

It can be objected that far too much is being read into normal diplomatic movements, and occasional expression of the now habitual bilious disposition of the Indian leadership. India watching not less difficult and uncertain than Russian watching, in both cases impeded by lack of communication and information, we have no other way to follow signs of Indian aggrandisement in the region. Besides what we surmise is not based on these developments above they should be put in the context of India's political psyche, and when this is done it is not difficult to see that they are part of an unfolding design. We should not forget that the dreams of those who believe in them come true, and India believes that it has

a right to dominate the region, and be seen and kowtowed to as its only leader. The question we should be asking ourselves; are we prepared to face the Indian design in order to defend our integrity and sovereignty?

### Question

This question should be raised in the coming session of the National Assembly and the Senate, and openly debated for the information of the people. The Indian intention is not a secret. Also well known is the fact that our own involvement with Afghanistan has left us with precious little thought and initiative. Our friendship with the United States is no help against Indian design. In fact this country would not mind India exercising hegemony in the region. Relations with Soviet Russia are virtually on the breaking point, and with time the relations between this country and India are acquiring an exclusivity which it will be impossible for Pakistan to shake, if at some point of time we realise that it is a good policy to live in peace and at amity not only with our own "mohalla" neighbours but also the geopolitical neighbours. We cannot say with confidence here that our Muslim Umma will ever be of any strength to us in or our relations with India. There is China, but we know from experience that even this friendly power does not believe in burning its finger in order to help Pakistan pull its chestnuts from the fire. The only neighbour Iran which time and again has proved its loyalty to us in situations of war with India is there but we have not rated it well enough, keeping a cold and correct relationship with it. This is not the kind of investment for goodwill we need for support and even defence of our territories. In short, in foreign affairs, there is complete disarray in so far Indian designs are concerned. Siachin Glacier which has exercised our political leaders and media so much is only a diversion in the context of India's gargantuan appetite for Asia and world leadership.

### Non-Preparedness

This sorry picture is supplemented by affairs in the country. We are far from ready to protect our national interests because the people are not one with the governments foreign and domestic policies. At the same time that we are experimenting with democracy, a large number of people are complaining against deprivation. We, too, have serious ethnic issue confronting us, creating just the kind of opportunity needed for the powers in the neighbourhood to interfere. Acknowledging the government's earnest effort to resolve national issues, it is obvious that pace of democratisation in the country is dangerously slow. 1990 is too far, and developments threatening us are knocking at the door. In short, we are equally unprepared to meet the challenge on our home front. Occasionally in the press the serious threat of India's design of overlordship is raised, sometimes the politicians in the opposition raise the issue. But no serious thought appears to have been given to this danger and our own preparedness, by the government and

legislators. After our experience in two declared wars with India, we hope that we are not depending on a military response. The need is for putting our own house in order, making it an impregnable fortress of democracy. Right foreign policy and material strength to hold our own against India will follow from this. Only a united people can defend themselves and their honour, and there is no better way known to the world than people united in democracy. Mr Junejo's mission is simple and clear, if he respects the wishes of the people and does not pay heed to the national political exigencies of the day.

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**Commentary Asserts Govt Record Unimpressive**  
*46000076c Karachi DAWN in English 8, 9 Jan 88*

[Article by Maleeha Lodhi: "No Winners in 1987"]

[8 Jan 88 p 4]

[Text] 1987 saw the process of political liberalization continue in the country, but with General Zia Haq retaining his grip on power. The year marked a decade of General Zia's rule, demonstrating his inexhaustible tenacity to remain at the helm. There were however no official celebrations of his ten years in power. The General-cum-President seemed to have learnt only too well the lesson from the late 60s, when Ayub Khan's extravagant celebration of his decade of rule contributed to his subsequent downfall. He also appeared to have drawn another lesson from the Ayub experience—that delinking himself from the army would deprive him of his principal prop and could strike a fatal blow to his authority. By continuing to combine the office of the President with that of the Army Chief of Staff, General Zia also ensured that the military's link with political power remained intact. Through the year, he often seemed to alternate between adopting a low profile and bouncing back with decisive assertions of authority. The mixed system of civil-military governance that he presided over can perhaps best be described as a shadow military state.

**Setback**

It was a year in which neither the government nor the opposition could capitalise on each other's weakness. The biggest setback to the government was over the budget. It was forced to withdraw an ill-conceived wide ranging defence tax in the face of popular protest, that saw riots in Karachi and a trader's 'hartal' in urban Punjab. But the opposition was as much surprised by the spontaneous protest as the government and was unable to harness (leave alone lead) the protest. The episode did however give the government an image of incompetence.

The Opposition's fragile unity frayed at the edges to make the MRD alliance virtually redundant. Although there were calls from within its principal component, the PPP, to give the MRD a decent burial, no one seemed to

want to take the responsibility of reading its funeral rites. Afflicted by a discord of purpose, the MRD increasingly lost its political relevance in a changing political environment. The year saw the political eclipse of Asghar Khan's Tehrik-i-Istaqlal with large defections from his party; whereas many of the other smaller parties were exposed for what they were—one-man shows.

The PPP, on the other hand, retained its dominance over the opposition and remained the principal challenge to the government. Benazir Bhutto continued to draw record crowds wherever she toured, but the party was still unable to translate the enormous personal appeal to the Bhutto name into the kind of force that could dislodge the government. In the eyes of some, the PPP had still to demonstrate that it is more than a carnival.

As Benazir began to remould the party to bring it in tune with Pakistan of the late 80s, she earned both praise and criticism. Many appreciated her bold move to blend legend with reality in adopting her party's programme to reflect the socio-economic changes of the two decades. She began to veer her party to the Centre adopting 'social democracy' as the touchstone of a programme, whose reformulation seemed to be underway. Certainly a rethinking of its programme was long overdue. This was underscored by the fact that the year marked the 20th anniversary of the party's creation. Any party that fails to reexamine itself in the context of changed circumstances ultimately loses touch with reality and stagnates. But not everyone, including elements in her own party, were convinced by such arguments. Critics accused her of de-radicalising a party that had owed its success in the late 60s to a programme of radical change. They saw the party's ideological shift as giving in to 'vested interests', an effort to make it 'respectable,' that in their view would undercut the PPP's popularity. But it is in the future that these conflicting assertions will be put to the test. This is also true of contrasting views on Benazir Bhutto's marriage which took place at the close of the year and was variously described as Pakistan's 'biggest wedding' and the social event of the decade. With opinion divided about whether this would help or hamper her political career or have no significant political effect, only the coming months will show which of these views turns out to be correct.

**Mid-Term Mark**

Meanwhile the civilian administration of Prime Minister Junejo passed its mid-term mark in a year in which the performance of his lack-lustre team was far from distinguished. But how well did the system of power sharing between the civilians and the military (represented by General Zia) work? If the question is confined to whether it produced a rupture, the answer is obviously 'no' and in that sense the system did work. But if the question is couched in terms of legitimacy and credibility then the answer would be that the system acquired no more credibility than it had when it was inaugurated in March 1985. In fact the government did little that could

have helped enhance its credibility. The monotonous regularity with which Mr. Junejo claimed throughout the year that his was an elected government and that he had brought about an end to martial law signified efforts aimed at removing the stigma of the government having emerged from the womb of martial law. It underlined that his government as indeed the whole system continued to be afflicted by legitimacy problems.

Nor did the system always work smoothly in terms of providing a discrete and coherent policy making process. With considerable ambiguity characterising policy making and with the lines of responsibility blurred between the President and the Prime Minister, the system occasionally produced either paralysis or confusion or both. In the words of a senior civil servant: "the files move so many ways that little ever gets done." An aspect of the system that was particularly pronounced during 1987 was the powerful position enjoyed by the chief ministers that virtually turned them into regional barons. This was especially true of the Punjab chief Minister Nawaz Sharif whose growing power and controversial political style raised questions of whether Mr Junejo's writ even extended to the Punjab and whether Sharif owed his increasing influence to alleged back channels with the 'invisible government.' Certainly Nawaz Sharif was the most talked about politician in 1987 as well as the most controversial figure in the civilian set up.

The inherent ambiguity (as well as the continued lack of credibility) of the system stemmed from a power sharing arrangement between the political unequals: the President and the Prime Minister, and the fundamental imbalance between a still-powerful 'invisible government' that derived from the country's most powerful institution (the army) and the 'visible government' whose authority rested on a questionable electoral mandate.

During 1987, reports of differences between the President and the Prime Minister did on occasion arouse speculation whether Mr Junejo could ultimately turn out to be Zia's Zia—a reference to the fact that General Zia who was handpicked by the late Mr. Bhutto to head the army subsequently ousted his benefactor. But such reports were often highly exaggerated and there was little evidence to suggest that any of the difference were over major policy.

1987 did reinforce an important feature of the system, which was that effective decisions in the key areas of defence, foreign affairs and internal security remained within the ambit of the President, while other areas of policy making were hived off to civilian ministers, subject of course to the power of the civil bureaucracy and to President Zia's position at the apex of the system.

In the areas that Junejo's administration did have greater freedom to manoeuvre, its record was unimpressive. Adopting as its political manifesto a Five-Point Programme of what are essentially platitudes espoused

by just about everyone (e.g. fighting corruption), his administration plodded along thinking that rhetoric could substitute for policy. It also erred in thinking that the dispensation of patronage alone would win political support without the party organisation to systematically cement and organise such support. The random distribution of patronage in fact could help strengthen individual position but is a little political benefit to the government or the party as examples from Pakistan's history amply illustrate. The Junejo government seemed oblivious of the Ayubian experience, during which there was plenty of patronage dispensed, but none of this translated into the kind of support that could have saved him when his regime collapsed like a house of cards in the face of mass movement.

Mr. Junejo in fact had considerable difficulty keeping his own house in order, which reflected the inability of the ruling group to organise the Muslim League into a party in any meaningful sense of the term. In-fighting within the Muslim League and factional squabbles prompted a stern warning from Mr. Junejo in mid-1987, but in-house differences continued to contribute to the emerging incoherence of the Muslim League government. The exit of two ministers from the Junejo government amidst charges of corruption badly dented its image.

Nor was its image helped by the aura of indecisiveness surrounding his government. Mr. Junejo's own cautious style of leadership may have enabled him to fend off crises but it also tended to create stagnation. In a number of areas ranging from sorting out party factionalism, giving the League an identity distinct from the administration it controls to revitalising the Cabinet (where ministers continue to hold dual portfolios), a hesitant Mr. Junejo procrastinated on taking decisions. Postponement however only meant that these would later have to be tackled together and without the comfort of a long gap before the general elections scheduled for 1990, but expected to be held earlier.

### Fiddling

The Junejo government all but frittered away the opportunity it had in the local bodies election to significantly strengthen its democratic image and acquire credibility. By bending or amending the rules under which the non-party election was held and taking other measures to stack the deck in its favour, it ended up with little political mileage from the first electoral exercise since the lifting of martial law. While many people saw the election as free, others did not see it as entirely fair.

In this context, more than any opposition party, it was Fakhar Imam (former Parliamentary Speaker) who made something of a political comeback in running a remarkable one-man campaign that exposed the extent to which the government had fiddled with the rules, and putting it on the defensive.

Local polls in an otherwise politically quiet year undoubtedly produced a salutary activation of the democratic pulse at the local level. But for all the bustle and enthusiasm generated, it would be a mistake to read its results as accurately reflecting the national mood. Determined by a context in which people were not voting to change the government, local elections provided as in the past certain built-in advantages to the incumbent regime. Moreover because they are dominated by local issues and personalities, they have always been seen as a 'safe' channel of participation especially by authoritarian regimes, which have happily held these in the country's recent past. In any case, the government, wanting to leave nothing to chance, prohibited parties from taking part to reduce the risk of an opposition grounds-well. It also significantly shortened the time allowed for campaigning apart from the other measures it took (including gerrymandering) to load the dice to its advantage.

On the opposition side, the PPP's decision to contest (i.e. by backing candidates) in spite of obvious disadvantages was significant for a number of reasons. It marked the formal renunciation of the boycott strategy pursued in the past by the opposition and was an acknowledgment that this had not worked. Participation enabled Ms. Bhutto to convey that her party did not want to play a spoiler's role in any democratic exercise. This was aimed at countering the impression cultivated by her opponents among the country's key power blocs that the PPP is a disruptive force. At the same time, participation in a low-stake exercise allowed her to test the system for the first time in order to determine how far she could trust it and how fairly it treated her and the PPP. The lessons absorbed by the PPP on this score would probably be reflected in the strategy it devises and adopts in the period leading up to the general elections.

#### PPP

But taking the decision to participate in isolation from the MRD, the PPP also signaled that its patience with alliance politics was running out. What Benazir Bhutto was apparently saying was that she was not prepared to become hostage to a politically dubious opposition unity and was questioning the value of an alliance that often produced political paralysis. All of this seemed to reflect her assessment that even if all the other parties eventually ganged up against her in the future this would not prove damaging since many of the MRD components had begun to lose their political relevance. In other words, a replay of the old PPP-PNA divide (of 1977) was not possible or would not have the same political significance because of changing alignments in the country's politics as well as the fact that some (ex-PNA) parties were shadows of their former selves.

The results of the local elections showed a majority in many parts of the country (especially the Punjabi country side) for candidates describing themselves as pro-government or Pro-Muslim League. This hardly came as a surprise in view of the factor outlined earlier. The key

question was how meaningful such gains were for the Muslim League as a party especially since most of the winning candidates were returned on the basis of their local 'influence' and individual standing. To the extent that such victories reflected and reinforced candidates' individual positions in their areas, this did not necessarily translate into added strength for the Muslim League. The results did suggest that in rural Punjab the government had managed to recruit locally influential feudal politicians. But such politicians are notorious for their political fickleness and this leaves a question mark over their allegiances in the future especially in the highly charged political atmosphere of a parliamentary election where very different voter influences are at work.

The election confirmed the PPP as the main opposition force, with the party making a strong showing in rural Sind and surprisingly the NWFP. Its performance in the Punjab was patchy, at best. The most notable feature of the result was the landslide victory in Karachi and Hyderabad of the Mohajir Oaumi Mahaz (MQM) campaigning on an ethnic platform. Also significant was the fact that the Jamaat-i-Islami was dislodged from its traditional strongholds by the MQM, but it managed to survive on the electoral map by winning seats elsewhere in the country.

The broad picture provided by the election results (which may not necessarily be duplicated in general elections) was of a chunk of opinion supporting the establishment (represented by the Muslim League government) and a significant section of the electorate supporting the opposition (represented by the PPP). Except for the MQM in the very special ethnic circumstances of urban Sind, smaller parties including three religious ones and an assortment of regional parties, were all but wiped out. The eclipse of the smaller parties may turn out to be the most-significant pointer provided by these elections for the future pattern of Pakistan's politics.

#### [9 Jan 88 p 4]

1987 was a year in which the country began to count the costs of the long period of military rule. This was true of both the political and economic realm. In the case of the former, the depoliticising effects of martial law were reflected in the resurgence of parochial ethnic identities which in turn found expression in organisations like the MQM, a grouping organised on a purely ethnic basis in urban Sind.

#### MQM

The long years of official neglect under an unrepresentative regime of Karachi's collapsing infrastructure made the overcrowded city fertile ground for urban unrest and susceptible to the MQM's appeal. The local election of November marked the emergence of the ethnic vote with the MQM capturing the majority of seats in both Karachi and Hyderabad. A militant organisation seeking to



articulate the demands of these cities' dominant Urdu-speaking Mohajir community, the MQM became a new factor in Pakistan's politics in 1987. The troubling question raised by the MQM's phenomenal success was whether this was the cutting edge of a general trend toward fragmentation.

The intensification of regionalist sentiment in interior Sind seemed to underscore this trend. Rhetoric apart, the government seemed unable or unwilling to tackle the problem of growing disaffection in Sind as indeed the underlying factors of unemployment, a lack of adequate educational and other facilities and underrepresentation in the administration and police. It was noteworthy that in November's local elections, candidates backed by the ruling Muslim League were trounced both in urban and rural Sind (by the MQM and the PPP respectively). This had added significance because Sind is Prime Minister Junejo's home province.

It was in the economic sphere, that one of the most striking consequences of military rule were manifest. The long period of unrepresentative rule had meant economic decision making without constraints or accountability. This had seen an unbridled growth of military expenditure which fuelled growing budgetary deficits, while the rise in military imports contributed to the country's increasing foreign debt. The largest fiscal deficit recorded in Pakistan's history in 1987 was a legacy of this kind of financial indiscipline or profligacy. It was, however, the civilian administration of Mr. Junejo that was left to grapple with this. The chickens were finally coming home to roost. The long neglect of social and physical infrastructure meant that not much growth could be squeezed out any longer out of that much diminished and depleted capital base.

#### Pattern

In some respects this phenomenon resembled what has become a characteristic pattern in several debt-ridden Latin American countries (like Argentina and Brazil). In these cases military regimes handed over power to civilians along with a legacy of economic mismanagement. Having run up huge deficits and debts, they left it to their civilian successors to impose unpopular austerity measures. A taste of this was provided by the Junejo government's budget debacle in June, when the civilian administration was left upfront to face the public repercussions of irresponsible government spending in the past.

During the year there were plenty of warning signals about the economy. The State Bank's annual report, released at year end, only confirmed what have long been identified as fundamental problems that need to be urgently addressed; the country's weak fiscal base, the lack of serious measures, aimed at domestic resource

mobilisation, growing budgetary and balance of payments deficits, the resort to more borrowing (internal and foreign) and the emergence of inflationary pressures because of increased deficit financing (and higher import prices).

#### Govt. Failure

But there was little to suggest that the Junejo government was facing up to taking the firm corrective measures to deal with the structural weaknesses of the economy. Its bid to impose a defence tax was a singularly ill-conceived and clumsy attempt to raise revenue. It simply meant piling the burden on to an already narrow tax base, rather than seek to broaden this base by, for example, bringing the agricultural sector (exempt from direct income tax) and the service sector within the tax net. But this required political bravery, and the Junejo administration was found wanting on this score.

Indeed in 1987, the government retreated twice on taxation. First, by withdrawing the defence tax and then by scrapping amendments to the income tax ordinance after protest from the business community. It subsequently raised export duties (on cotton, rice, cotton yarn). But this was an effort to raise resources in a narrow way, because the government was really cashing in on a windfall for exporters since international prices of such commodities were high. Such stopgap measures hardly touched the heart of the structural problem.

#### Interest

And for substantive measures Mr. Junejo's administration showed little inclination. Fundamental considerations seemed to have been subordinated to the needs of short term political gain. With general elections looming on the horizon, the Junejo administration was in a mood to spend, not tax. It was, therefore, prepared to strain already stretched resources to implement its five-point programme. Less than two years away from elections no one in his government seemed to take the political risk of cutting back spending. But not acting decisively to seriously address the structural imbalance between revenue and expenditure was also a risky business, in view of the inflationary impact of deficit financing.

Meanwhile the patience of Pakistan's international creditors was beginning to wear thin. The World Bank, the largest multilateral donor, put the government on notice, to come up with a serious programme in early 1988. The bank has long urged Pakistan to take effective measures to strengthen its fiscal and balance of payments position and has let it be known that sector loans could be in jeopardy in the absence of reform.

The big question that posed for 1988 was how long the country could continue to walk a narrow tightrope in what decidedly look like more troubled economic times ahead.

**Commentary Denounces Militarisation as 'Seed of Disorder'**

46000075a Karachi DAWN in English 21 Jan 88 p 7

[Article by Ghazi Salahuddin: "Today's Dire Need"]

[Text] If an anti-nuclear demonstration is organised in Karachi, how many people do you think would join in? More than the 'cricket lovers' who gathered at Regal Chowk on Sunday, demanding the return of Imran Khan for the West Indies tour? More than those who went to attend a public execution in Mianwali on Monday?

Perhaps I should not be talking about global issues, about war and peace, when curfew is imposed in Shah Faisal Colony in Karachi. Since I mainly write about Karachi, using some event of the week as a peg, the obvious subject is the localised resurgence of ethnic violence. Also relevant would be the death in Peshawar of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the great Pashtoon leader. This could provide an opportunity of looking at some of the riddles of the history of our freedom struggle.

But I want to write about the campaign for the abolition of nuclear weapons and about disarmament for two reasons. One, all this comes within the jurisdiction of this column because a delegation of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW) was in Karachi and I had an occasion to talk to one of its moving spirits, Dr Bernard Lown and also to the Soviet delegate Dmitri Venediktov at a Sind Club reception given by our own Dr Adibul Hasan Rizvi. Two, I believe that we should not allow our local concerns to totally blot out larger issues.

After all, we share this planet Earth with the rest of the mankind. The nuclear arms race threatens the existence of all of us, everywhere. We have some additional, urgent reasons to openly debate our nuclear options and the nature of our militarisation. For our own sake, we should be a part of the international peace movement. We should be conscious of our social responsibilities in an international context.

I know that for us, the nuclear issue is very emotive. We can be very short-sighted and chauvinistic about some things. I was flabbergasted when I saw a clue in the current crossword—'wordpower competition'—of Lahore's National Press Trust daily. "Today's dire need," it proposes and you have to choose one word from the following four: "democracy justice/A-bomb-/health care."

Look at it a second time. The newspaper has consciously equated A-bomb with democracy and justice and health care. And what is our dire need? If you think all four are necessary, where would you like to begin? I think the dire need is to realise the dreams of our people. The people should decide what they need and they should be able to debate these questions intelligently and in the light of conflicting views and expert opinion.

Some very rational analyses, we know, are not presented to the people in terms that they can understand and relate to their own needs and aspirations. It is in this context that a book like "South Asia: Nuclear Stalemate or Conflagration" by our nuclear proliferation expert Akhtar Ali becomes important.

This is a sequel to Akhtar Ali's earlier book "Pakistan's Nuclear Dilemma". He offers "a cautious yet venture-some optimism that despite perilous indicators a nuclear arms race may be contained and indeed be prevented." At the same time, he also underlines the irony that pursuit of non-nuclear options by Pakistan may not be any less militaristic.

Recently, I listened to a well-known retired general arguing forcefully at a small dinner party that the more weapons our armed forces acquire, the more our security is endangered. He was presenting his case as an expert. It is interesting that some army officers and many bureaucrats can look at reality once they have left, though seldom willingly, the citadel of power.

But do we require any great wisdom to realise that our militarisation is the seed of our social and economic disorder? Because we have to spare our scarce resources for the armed forces, we cannot have all the schools and hospitals and roads we need. This is such a sad story that I should not go on with it. By the way, Gen. Zia-ul-Haq's reign has this week broken the record of our first military ruler, Ayub Khan and Gen. Zia has been the serving chief of staff throughout this period. Do you still remember the speech he made on July 5, 1977?

I am sorry, I should return to the movement against nuclear weapons and the IPPNW, the organisation which was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for 1985. It was formed as a result of a joint initiative by Soviet and American physicians and now our physicians are also joining this commitment. Since there is no cure for a nuclear war, it is appropriate for the physicians to consider it their duty to prevent it.

Not only physicians but also many scientists, whose discoveries have been invested in the callous arms race, are now raising their voice against nuclear proliferation. Albert Einstein, talking about his role in making the atom bomb possible, he said: "If only I had known, I should have become a watchmaker".

He had also said that the release of nuclear power "has changed everything except our way of thinking and thus we are being driven unarmed towards a catastrophe". In that sense, we need to change our way of thinking. The solution lies in the heart of humankind. The socially